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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

VI

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
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IN NINE VOLUMES

VI

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BOOK LI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ νικήσας περὶ Ἄκτιον τὰ παρόντα διέθετο.
β. Περὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ ὧν ἔπραξαν μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν.
γ. Ὡς Ἀντώνιος ἡττηθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αἴγυπτον ἐχειρώσατο.
ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἦλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν.
ζ. Ὡς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰούλιον καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡς Μυσία ἑάλω.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ γʹ καὶ Μ. Οὐαλερίου Κορουίνου Μεσσάλου ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη δύο ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Καῖσαρ τὸ δʹ
Μ. Λικίννιος Μ. υἱ. Κράσσος[1] ὕπ.
Καῖσαρ τὸ εʹ
Σέξτος Ἀπουλέιος[2] Σέξτου υἱ. ὕπ.[3]

Τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴωθα αὐτὸ ποιεῖν) ἀλλ' ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ κράτος πᾶν μόνος ἔσχεν, 2 ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν τῆς μοναρχίας

[1] Κράσσος supplied by H. Steph.
[2] Ἀπουλέιος Cary, ἀπουλήιος M, ἀπουιλιος V.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK LI

The following is contained in the Fifty-first of Dio's *Rome* :—

How Caesar after his victory at Actium settled matters of immediate concern (chaps. 1-4).
Concerning Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after their defeat (chaps. 5–8).
How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chaps. 9–10).
How Caesar subdued Egypt (chaps. 15-18).
How Caesar came to Rome and celebrated his triumph (chap. 21).
How the Curia Iulia was dedicated (chap. 22).
How Moesia was conquered (chaps. 23-27).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (III) and M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla, together with two additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

B.C.
30 Caesar (IV), M. Licinius M. F. Crassus.
29 Caesar (V), Sextus Apuleius Sexti F.

Such was the naval battle in which they engaged on the second of September. I do not mention this date without a particular reason, nor am I, in fact, accustomed to do so; but Caesar now for the first time held all the power alone, and consequently B.C. 31

[8] ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ τριήρη τε καὶ τετρήρη, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἑξῆς μέχρι δεκήρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μείζω ᾠκοδόμησεν, ἀγῶνά τέ τινα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικῆς ἱπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν ἱερόν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὀνομάζουσι) κατέδειξεν, Ἄκτια αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.
3 *πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνῴκισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δούς. τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος.*

4 *Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μέν*[1] *τι τῶν νεῶν ἐς δίωξιν τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔστειλε· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει*[2] *ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τὸ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου δι' ὀλιγότητα, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπιόντα καταλαβὼν ἀμαχεὶ παρεστήσατο.*
5 *ἤδη δὲ καὶ διέφυγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι οἱ συμμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ οἴκαδε. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὗτοι γε ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι,*

[1] *μέν* Bk., *ἕν* VM.
[2] *ἐν καταλήψει* R. Steph., *ἐγκαταλήψει* VM.

the years of his reign are properly reckoned from that day.[1] In honour of the day he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the total number of the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme, and the other ships in order up to one of ten banks of oars; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest, including horse-racing,—a "sacred" festival, as they call those in connexion with which there is a distribution of food,—and entitled it Actia. Furthermore, he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis.[2] On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo.

B.C. 31

But these things were done later. At the time he sent a part of the fleet in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra; these ships, accordingly, followed after the fugitives, but when it became clear that they were not going to overtake them, they returned. With his remaining vessels he captured the enemy's entrenchments, meeting with no opposition because of their small numbers, and then overtook and without a battle won over the rest of the army, which was retreating into Macedonia. There were various important contingents that had already escaped; of these the Romans fled to Antony and the allies to their homes. The latter, however, no longer fought

[1] Dio is very careful to date each emperor's reign precisely. Cf. Preface to vol. i. p. xiii.

[2] *i.e.* "City of Victory." The same name had been given by Pompey to a town founded after his defeat of Mithridates. See xxxvi. 50.

ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ δῆμοι πάντες, ὅσοι καὶ πρότερον ἐρρωμάιζον, οἱ μὲν
2 εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὡμολόγησαν. καὶ ὃς τὰς μὲν πόλεις χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξει καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐς τοὺς πολίτας σφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξουσίας παραιρέσει μετῆλθε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ δυνάστας τούς τε βασιλέας τὰ μὲν χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἰλήφεσαν, πάντας πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύν-
2 του καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα δὲ τὸν Ταρκονδιμότου καὶ Λυκομήδην ἐν μέρει τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα τόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῶν δυναστειῶν ἔπαυσε· καὶ τοῦτον, ὅτι μισθὸν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκείνου κατηγορίας εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τὰ
3 ἐπινίκια παραγαγὼν ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκομήδους Μηδείῳ τινὶ ἔδωκεν, ὅτι τούς τε Μυσοὺς τοὺς[1] ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπέστησε, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι αὐτοῦ οὖσιν ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνιάτας[2] τε καὶ Λαμπαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῷ συνήραντο· καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν
4 ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατῴκισε. τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν κορυφαίων τῶν συμπραξάντων τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ πολλοὺς μὲν χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐφόνευσε, καί τινων καὶ ἐφείσατο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις ὅ τε Σόσσιος ἐπιφανὴς ἐγένετο (πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἀντιπολεμήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τότε φυγὼν καὶ κατακρυφθείς, χρόνῳ τε ὕστερον εὑρεθείς, ὅμως ἐσώθη)
5 καὶ Μᾶρκός τις Σκαῦρος· ἀδελφός τε γὰρ τοῦ Σέξτου ὁμομήτριος ὢν καὶ θανατωθῆναι κελευσθεὶς

[1] τοὺς supplied by St. [2] Κυδωνιάτας Bk., κυδωνεάτας VM.

against Caesar, but both they and all the peoples which had long been subject to Rome remained quiet and made terms, some at once and others later. Caesar now punished the cities by levying money and taking away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed. He deprived all the princes and kings except Amyntas and Archelaus of the lands which they had received from Antony, and he also deposed from their thrones Philopator, the son of Tarcondimotus, Lycomedes, the king of a part of Cappadocian Pontus, and Alexander, the brother of Iamblichus. The last-named, because he had secured his realm as a reward for accusing Caesar, he led in his triumphal procession and afterwards put to death. He gave the kingdom of Lycomedes to one Medeius, because the latter had detached the Mysians in Asia[1] from Antony before the naval battle and with them had waged war upon those who were on Antony's side. He gave the people of Cydonia and Lampe[2] their liberty, because they had rendered him some assistance; and in the case of the Lampaeans he helped them to found anew their city, which had been destroyed. As for the senators and knights and the other leaders who had aided Antony in any way, he imposed fines upon many of them, slew many others, and some he actually spared. In this last class Sosius was a conspicuous example; for though he had often fought against Caesar and was now hiding in exile and was not found until later, nevertheless he was saved. Likewise one Marcus Scaurus, a half-brother of Sextus on his mother's side, had been condemned to death,

B.C. 31

[1] Cf. note on xlix. 36.
[2] Usually called Lappa.

εἶτα διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων Ἀκύλιοί τε Φλῶροι καὶ Κουρίων ὄνομα μάλιστ' ἔσχον, οὗτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκείνου τοῦ ποτε τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλὰ
6 συναραμένου υἱὸς ἦν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλῶροι ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς· ὡς δ' οὗτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ σφαγεῖ ἑκὼν παρέδωκε, περιήλγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν.

3 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν, ὁ δ' ὅμιλος τῶν Ἀντωνιείων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοὺς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, μηδὲν μηδενὶ δούς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε,
2 τοὺς δὲ δὴ λοιποὺς διέσπειρεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ φοβεροὶ οἱ μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένοντο, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ αὖθις θορυβήσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔσπευσε, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ὑποκινηθῆναι, τοὺς μὲν παντελῶς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπελάσαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ
3 πλῆθος διασπάσαι. τούς τε ἐξελευθέρους δι' ὑποψίας ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχων τὴν τετάρτην αὐτοῖς ἐσφορὰν ἀφῆκεν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν προσταχθέντων σφίσι χρημάτων ἐπώφειλον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὐχ ὅτι ἐστέρηντό τινων ἐμνησικάκουν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ
4 λαβόντες ὅσα μὴ συνεσήνεγκαν ἔχαιρον· οἵ τε ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔτι[1] καὶ τότε ὄντες, τὸ μέν τι πρὸς τῶν στρατιαρχῶν κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον

[1] ἔτι Leuncl., ἔτει VM.

but was later released for the sake of his mother Mucia. Of those who were punished, the Aquilii Flori and Curio were most talked about, the latter because he was a son of that Curio who had once been of great assistance to the former Caesar, and the Flori because, when Octavius commanded that the one of them who should draw the lot should be slain, they both perished. They were father and son, and when the son, without waiting for the lot, voluntarily offered himself to the executioner, the father was exceedingly distressed and died upon his son's body by his own hand. B.C. 31

These men, then, fared in the manner described. The mass of Antony's soldiers was incorporated in Caesar's legions, and he later sent back to Italy the citizens of both forces who were over the military age, without giving them anything, and scattered the rest. For they had caused him to fear them in Sicily after his victory there, and he was afraid they might create a disturbance again; hence he made haste, before they gave the least sign of an uprising, to discharge some entirely from the service and to scatter the majority of the others. As he was still at this time suspicious of the freedmen, he remitted to them the fourth payment which they still owed of the money levied upon them.[1] So they no longer bore him any grudge because of what had been taken from them, but rejoiced as if they had actually received the amount they had been relieved from contributing. The men still left in the rank and file also made no trouble, partly because they were held in check by their commanders, but chiefly because of their hopes

[1] *i.e.* one-quarter of the tax of 12½ per cent. levied upon them a little earlier. See l. 10. 4.

τῇ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλούτου ἐλπίδι, οὐδὲν ἐνεόχμωσαν· οἱ δὲ δὴ συννικήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀφεθέντες ἤσχαλλον ἅτε μηδὲν γέρας εὑρόμενοι, καὶ στασιάζειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἤρξαντο.
5 καίτοι[1] ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τε αὐτούς, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου, ᾧ καὶ τότε ἥ τε Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέτακτο, καταφρονήσωσιν ὅτι ἱππεὺς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὡς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοσαύτην γ' ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικήνᾳ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραφε, προαναγιγνώσκειν, κἀκ τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο.
6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἵν' ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ἔχωσι. διπλῆν γὰρ δὴ σφραγῖδα, ᾗ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρῆτο, ἐπεποίητο, σφίγγα ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ὁμοίαν ἐκτυπώσας. ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγλύψας ἐκείνῃ τὰ
7 πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, πλὴν Γάλβου, ἐχρήσαντο· οὗτος γὰρ προγονικῷ τινι σφραγίσματι, κύνα ἐκ πρῴρας νεὼς προκύπτοντα ἔχοντι,[2] ἐνόμισεν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις, ὁπότε τι δέοιτο δι' ἀπορρήτων σφίσι δηλῶσαι, τὸ δεύτερον ἀεὶ στοιχεῖον τοῦ τῷ ῥήματι προσήκοντος ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἀντεγγράφων.

4 Καὶ ὁ μέν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἔτι δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι διῴκησε καὶ τῶν τοῖν θεοῖν μυστηρίων μετέλαβεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθί-

[1] καίτοι M, καίτοι καὶ V.
[2] ἔχοντι Xiph., ἔχοντα VM.

of gaining the wealth of Egypt. The men, however, who had helped Caesar to gain his victory and had been dismissed from the service were irritated at having obtained no reward, and not much later they began to mutiny. But Caesar was suspicious of them and, since he feared that Maecenas, to whom on this occasion also Rome and the rest of Italy had been entrusted, would be despised by them inasmuch as he was only a knight, he sent Agrippa to Italy, ostensibly on some other mission. He also gave to Agrippa and to Maecenas so great authority in all matters that they might even read beforehand the letters which he wrote to the senate and to others and then change whatever they wished in them. To this end they also received from him a ring, so that they might be able to seal the letters again. For he had caused to be made in duplicate the seal which he used most at that time, the design being a sphinx, the same on each copy; since it was not till later that he had his own likeness engraved upon his seal and sealed everything with that. It was this latter that the emperors who succeeded him employed, except Galba, who adopted a seal which his ancestors had used, its device being a dog looking out of a ship's prow. It was the custom of Caesar in writing to these two ministers and to his other intimate friends, whenever there was need of giving them secret information, to substitute in each case for the appropriate letter in a word the letter next in order after it.

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Now Caesar, believing there would be no further danger from the veterans, administered affairs in Greece and took part in the Mysteries of the two goddesses.[1] He then went over into Asia and

[1] Demeter and Korê.

2 στατο, τά τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἅμα ἐκαραδόκει· οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ὅπῃ διεπεφεύγει ἐπέπυστο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμήσων, ἄν τι ἀκριβώσῃ. θορυβησάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ φανερῶς ἅτε καὶ πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπαρτῶντος αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη μή τι κακὸν προστάτου τινὸς
3 λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητῆσαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠπείχθη μεσοῦντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέταρτον μετὰ[1] Μάρκου Κράσσου ἦρχεν· οὗτος γάρ, καίπερ τά τε τοῦ Σέξτου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πράξας, τότε μηδὲ στρατηγήσας συνυπάτευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον οὐκέτι
4 περαιτέρω προυχώρησεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἥ τε γερουσία πυθομένη τὸν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἐκεῖσε, πλὴν τῶν τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο κατὰ δόγμα καταμεινάντων, ἀπήντησε, καὶ ἡ ἱππὰς τοῦ τε δήμου τὸ πλεῖον καὶ ἕτεροι, οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείας οἱ δὲ ἐθελονταί, πολλοὶ συνῆλθον,
5 οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πρός τε τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλειόνων σπουδὴν ἐνεοχμώθη. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετάπεμπτοι, πρὸς[2] τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφίκοντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασι
6 καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε.[3] τοὺς γὰρ δήμους τοὺς

[1] μετὰ M, μετα τοῦ V. [2] πρὸς M, ἐς V.
[3] προσκατένειμε M, προσκατέμεινε V.

settled matters there also, keeping watch meanwhile upon Antony's movements; for he had not yet learned anything definite regarding the refuge to which the other had fled, and so he was making preparations to proceed against him in case he should receive any precise information. But meanwhile the veterans made an open demonstration now that he was gone so far away from them, and he began to fear that if they found a leader they would cause some mischief. Consequently he assigned to others the task of seeking Antony, and hurried to Italy himself, in the middle of the winter of the year in which he was holding office for the fourth time, along with Marcus Crassus. For Crassus, in spite of having sided with Sextus and with Antony, was then his fellow-consul even though he had not held the praetorship. Caesar, then, came to Brundisium, but proceeded no farther. For when the senate ascertained that his ship was nearing Italy, its members went there to meet him, all except the tribunes and two praetors, who remained in Rome in pursuance of a decree; and the equestrian order as well as the greater part of the populace and still others, some as envoys and some of their own accord, came together there in large numbers, with the result that there was no further act of rebellion on the part of any one in view of his arrival and of the enthusiasm of the majority. For the veterans, too, had come to Brundisium, some of them induced by fear, some by hopes, and still others in response to a summons; and Caesar gave money to some of them, while to those who had served with him throughout his campaigns he also made an additional assignment of land. For by turning out of their homes the

B.C. 31

B.C. 30

ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου φρονήσαντας ἐξοικίσας τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰ χωρία αὐτῶν ἐχαρίσατο, ἐκείνων δὲ δὴ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τό τε Δυρράχιον καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἄλλα τε ἐποικεῖν ἀντέδωκε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν ἔνειμε τὸ
7 δ' ὑπέσχετο. συχνὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νίκης ἐκτήσατο, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ἀνήλισκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προέγραψεν ἐν τῷ πρατηρίῳ τά τε ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑταίρων, ἵνα ἄν τε πρίασθαί τι αὐτῶν ἄν τε καὶ ἀντιλαβεῖν τις
8 ἐθελήσῃ, τοῦτο ποιήσῃ. καὶ ἐπράθη μὲν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀντεδόθη οὐδέν· τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ὁποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν πρᾶξαι; τῆς δὲ δὴ ἐπαγγελίας[1] ἀναβολὴν ἐκ τούτου εὐπρεπῆ λαβὼν ὕστερον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων λαφύρων ἀπήλλαξε.

5 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπείγοντα διοικήσας, τοῖς τέ τινα ἄδειαν λαβοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτᾶσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν) δούς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενος ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὖθις τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπῆρε,
2 καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερενεγκὼν οὕτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τήν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἑκάτερον ἅμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφωρ-
3 μήθη καὶ ὅτι ἐπανῆλθε, μαθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοπον-

[1] ἐπαγγελίας Xyl., ἀπαγγελίας VM.

communities in Italy which had sided with Antony he was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of those who were dispossessed he made compensation by permitting them to settle in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere, while to the remainder he either granted money for their land or else promised to do so; for though he had acquired great sums by his victory, yet he was spending still more by far. For this reason he advertised at auction both his own possessions and those of his companions, in order that any one who desired to purchase any of them, or to take any of them in exchange for something else, might do so. And although nothing was purchased, and nothing taken in exchange, either—for who, pray, would ever have dared follow either course?—yet he secured by this means a plausible excuse for delay in carrying out his promise, and later he discharged the debt out of the spoils of Egypt. B.C. 30

After settling this and the other business that pressed, giving to those who had received a grant of amnesty the right also to live in Italy, not before permitted them, and forgiving the populace which had remained behind in Rome for not having gone to meet him, he set out once more for Greece on the thirtieth day after his arrival. Then, because it was winter, he carried his ships across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus [1] and got back to Asia so quickly that Antony and Cleopatra learned at one and the same time both of his departure and of his return. They, it appears, when they had made their escape from the naval battle at Actium, had gone as far as the

[1] In order to avoid the dangerous passage around Cape Malea.

νήσου ὁμοῦ ἀφίκοντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινάς, ὅσους ὑπώπτευον, ἀποπέμψαντες (πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἀπεχώρησαν) Κλεοπάτρα *μὲν ἐς τὴν* Αἴγυπτον, *μή τι τῆς συμφορᾶς σφων*
4 *προπυθόμενοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ἠπείχθη, καὶ ὅπως γε καὶ τὸν πρόσπλουν ἀσφαλῆ ποιήσηται, τάς τε πρῴρας ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκυῖα κατέστεψε καὶ ᾠδάς τινας ἐπινικίους ὑπ' αὐλητῶν ᾖδεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένετο, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πρώτων, ἅτε καὶ ἀεί οἱ*[1] *ἀχθομένων καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ*
5 *αὐτῆς ἐπηρμένων, ἐφόνευσε, πολὺν δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ἔκ τε τῶν ἐκείνων κτημάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁσίων καὶ θείων, μηδενὸς μηδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀβάτων ἱερῶν φειδομένη, ἤθροιζε, δυνάμεις τε ἐξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπει, τόν τε* Ἀρμένιον *ἀποκτείνασα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ* Μήδῳ, *ὡς καὶ ἐπικουρήσοντί σφισι διὰ τοῦτ',*
6 *ἔπεμψεν.* Ἀντώνιος *δὲ ἔπλευσε μὲν ἐς τὴν* Λιβύην *πρός τε* Πινάριον Σκάρπον *καὶ πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς* Αἰγύπτου *φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα προσυνειλεγμένον· ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε προσδέξεσθαι αὐτὸν ἔφη,*[2] *καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσφαξε, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν ὧν ἦρχεν ἀγανακτήσαντάς τινας ἐπὶ τούτῳ διέφθειρεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν* Ἀλεξάνδρειαν *μηδὲν περάνας ἐκομίσθη.*

6 Καὶ *τά τε ἄλλα ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς,* Κλεοπάτρα *μὲν* Καισαρίωνα Ἀντώνιος *δὲ* Ἄντυλλον, *ὃν ἐκ τῆς* Φουλουίας *γεννηθέντα οἱ εἶχεν, ἐς ἐφήβους ἐσέ-*

[1] *οἱ* M, om. V.
[2] *ἔφη* supplied by Leuncl.

Peloponnesus together; from there, after they had first dismissed a number of their associates whom they suspected,—many, too, withdrew against their wishes,—Cleopatra had hastened to Egypt, for fear that her subjects would begin a revolt if they heard of the disaster before her arrival. And in order to make her approach, too, safe she crowned her prows with garlands as if she had actually won a victory, and had songs of triumph chanted to the accompaniment of flute-players. But as soon as she had reached safety, she slew many of the foremost men, inasmuch as they had always been displeased with her and were now elated over her disaster; and she proceeded to gather vast wealth from their estates and from various other sources both profane and sacred, sparing not even the most holy shrines, and also to fit out her forces and to look about for allies. She put to death the Armenian king and sent his head to the Mede, who might be induced thereby, she thought, to aid them. Antony, for his part, had sailed to Pinarius Scarpus in Africa and to the army under Scarpus' command previously assembled there for the protection of Egypt. But when this general not only refused to receive him but furthermore slew the men sent ahead by Antony, besides executing some of the soldiers under his command who showed displeasure at this act, then Antony, too, proceeded to Alexandria without having accomplished anything. B.C. 30

Now among the other preparations they made for speedy warfare, they enrolled among the youths of military age, Cleopatra her son Caesarion and Antony his son Antyllus, who had been born to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was

γραψαν, ἵν' οἵ τε Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς καὶ ἀνδρός τινος ἤδη βασιλεύοντός σφων προθυμηθῶσι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προστάτας ἐκείνους, ἄν γέ τι δεινόν σφισι
2 συμβῇ, ἔχοντες καρτερήσωσι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν μειρακίοις καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο· οὐδετέρου γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ πρόσχημά τι προστασίας ἐχόντων, ἐφείσατο· ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ πολεμή-
3 σοντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὁμόχωρα τούς τε βασιλέας τοὺς φιλίους σφίσι προσπαρεκάλουν, ἡτοιμάζοντο δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἄν τι κατεπείξῃ, πλευσούμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστήσοντες, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν
4 μεταστησόμενοι. καὶ ὅπως γε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βουλευόμενοι ταῦτα διαλάθωσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐξαπατήσωσί πῃ τὸν Καίσαρα ἢ καὶ δολοφονήσωσιν, ἔστειλάν τινας ἐκείνῳ μὲν λόγους ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ χρήματα φέροντας.
5 κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σκῆπτρόν τέ τι[1] χρυσοῦν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν τόν τε δίφρον τὸν βασιλικόν, κρύφα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ δι' αὐτῶν[2] διδοῦσα ἔπεμψεν, ἵν' ἂν καὶ
6 ἐκεῖνον ἐχθήρῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτήν γε ἐλεήσῃ. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν δῶρα ἔλαβεν οἰωνὸν ποιούμενος, ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ τῷ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδέν, τῇ δὲ Κλεοπάτρᾳ φανερῶς μὲν ἄλλα τε ἀπειλητικὰ καὶ ὅτι, ἂν τῶν τε ὅπλων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστῇ, βουλεύσεται

[1] τι M, om. V.
[2] αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν V.

to arouse the enthusiasm of the Egyptians, who would feel that they had at last a man for their king, and to cause the rest to continue the struggle with these boys as their leaders, in case anything untoward should happen to the parents. Now as for the lads, this proved one of the causes of their undoing; for Caesar spared neither of them, claiming that they were men and were clothed with a sort of leadership. But to return to Antony and Cleopatra, they were indeed making their preparations with a view to waging war in Egypt both on sea and on land, and to this end they were calling to their aid the neighbouring tribes and the kings who were friendly to them; but they were also making ready, none the less, to sail to Spain if need should arise, and to stir up a revolt there by their vast resources of money and by other means, or even to change the base of their operations to the Red Sea. And in order that while engaged in these plans they might escape observation for the longest possible time or even deceive Caesar in some way or actually slay him by treachery, they despatched emissaries who carried peace proposals to him and bribes of money to his followers. Meanwhile Cleopatra, on her part, unknown to Antony, sent to him a golden sceptre and a golden crown together with the royal throne, signifying that through them she offered him the kingdom as well; for she hoped that even if he did hate Antony, he would yet take pity on her at least. Caesar accepted her gifts as a good omen, but made no answer to Antony; to Cleopatra, however, although he publicly sent threatening messages, including the announcement that, if she would give up her armed forces and renounce her sovereignty,

B.C. 30

περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα χρὴ πρᾶξαι, λάθρᾳ δὲ ὅτι, ἐὰν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποκτείνῃ, καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκέραιον δώσει.

7 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, τάς τε ναῦς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἀραβικῷ κόλπῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐς[1] τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν ναυπηγηθείσας οἱ Ἀράβιοι, πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κυίντου Διδίου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος, κατέπρησαν, καὶ τὰς ἐπικουρίας καὶ οἱ 2 δῆμοι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες ἀπηρνήσαντο. καί μοι θαυμάσαι ἐπέρχεται ὅτι ἄλλοι μὲν συχνοί, καίπερ πολλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφότες, ἐγκατέλιπόν σφας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁπλομαχίαις ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμότατα τρεφόμενοι προθυμίᾳ τε ἐς αὐτοὺς πλείστῃ 3 ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ἀνδρειότατα ἠγωνίσαντο. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν Κυζίκῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἀγῶνας, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἄξειν ἤλπιζον, ἀσκούμενοι, τότε ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν γεγονότων ᾔσθοντο, ὥρμησαν 4 ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντες αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Ἀμύνταν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου παῖδας ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, φίλους μέν σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενομένους, τότε δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεταστάντας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν Δίδιον κωλύοντά σφας τῆς διόδου ἔδρασαν. 5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διαπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν περιεστοιχίσθησαν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ' ὣς οὐδένα, καίτοι τοῦ Διδίου συχνά σφισιν ὑπισχνουμένου, προσεδέ-

[1] ἐς M, πρὸς V.

he would consider what ought to be done in her case, he secretly sent word that, if she would kill Antony, he would grant her pardon and leave her realm inviolate. B.C. 30

While these negotiations were proceeding, the Arabians, instigated by Quintus Didius, the governor of Syria, burned the ships in the Arabian Gulf which had been built for the voyage to the Red Sea,[1] and the peoples and princes without exception refused their assistance to Antony. Indeed, I cannot but marvel that, while a great many others, though they had received numerous gifts from Antony and Cleopatra, now left them in the lurch, yet the men who were being kept for gladiatorial combats, who were among the most despised, showed the utmost zeal in their behalf and fought most bravely. These men, I should explain, were training in Cyzicus for the triumphal games which they were expecting to hold in celebration of Caesar's overthrow, and as soon as they became aware of what had taken place, they set out for Egypt to bear aid to their rulers. Many were their exploits against Amyntas in Galatia and many against the sons of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia, who had been their strongest friends but now in view of the changed circumstances had gone over to the other side; many also were their exploits against Didius, who undertook to prevent their passing through Syria; nevertheless, they were unable to force their way through to Egypt. Yet even when they were surrounded on all sides, not even then would they accept any terms of surrender, though Didius made

[1] The "Red Sea" of the ancients is the Persian Gulf of to-day, their "Arabian Gulf" the modern Red Sea.

ξαντο, τὸν δὲ Ἀντώνιον μεταπέμψαντες ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἄμεινον μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσοντες,
6 ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος μήτ' αὐτὸς ἦλθε μήτ' ἀγγελίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, οὕτω δὴ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἄκοντες ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ τήν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδίου, τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον, ἐνοικεῖν μέχρις ἂν τῷ Καίσαρι ταῦτα δηλωθῇ ἔλαβον.

7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλου ὕστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσε ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλεχθησόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δή
8 τινος ἐπιτηδείου ἐφθάρησαν· Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβεων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρός σφισιν ἐπισταλέντα, ἔπεμψαν αὖθις, ἡ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένη, ὁ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἀπολογούμενος, ὅσα τε συνηράσθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα
2 συνενεανιεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἐξαριθμούμενος. καὶ τέλος Πούπλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλευτήν τε ὄντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικῶς οἱ συνόντα ἐξέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἄν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῇ, κατα-
3 χρήσεσθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε (καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκοφώς, δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιώθη, δοῦναι ἔδοξε), τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε
4 ἀπεκρίνατο. τρίτην τε οὖν πρεσβείαν ἔστειλε,

them many promises. Instead, they sent for Antony, B.C. 30 feeling that they would fight better even in Syria if he were with them; and then, when he neither came himself nor sent them any message, they at last decided that he had perished and reluctantly made terms, on condition that they were never to fight as gladiators. And they received from Didius Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, to dwell in until the matter should be brought to Caesar's attention.

These men were later deceived by Messalla and sent to various places under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in the legions, and were then put out of the way in some convenient manner. Antony and Cleopatra, for their part, upon hearing from the envoys the demands which Caesar made of them, sent to him again. Cleopatra promised to give him large amounts of money, and Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, made a defence also of his connexion with the Egyptian woman, and recounted all the amorous adventures and youthful pranks which they had shared together. Finally, he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, who was a senator and one of the assassins of Caesar and was then living with Antony as a friend; and he offered to take his own life, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death (it chanced that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and since he was executed in Cos, he was thought to be making amends to the god as well as to Caesar), but this time also he gave no answer to Antony. So Antony despatched a

καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Ἄντυλλον μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπέστειλε, μηδεμίαν ἀπόκρισιν δούς. τῇ μέντοι Κλεοπάτρᾳ πολλά, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ δεύτερον τό τε
5 τρίτον καὶ ἐπηπείλησε καὶ ὑπέσχετο. φοβηθεὶς δ' οὖν καὶ ὣς μή πως ἀπογνόντες συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι διακαρτερήσωσι, καὶ ἤτοι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς περιγένωνται, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τήν τε Γαλατίαν ἀπάρωσιν, ἢ καὶ τὰ χρήματα,
6 ἃ παμπληθῆ ἤκουεν εἶναι, φθείρωσιν (ἡ γὰρ Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὃ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεσκεύαζεν, ἠθροίκει, καὶ πάντα, ἄν γέ τινος καὶ ἐλαχίστου διαμάρτῃ, κατακαύσειν μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ἠπείλει), Θύρσον ἐξελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ ἔπεμψεν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα αὐτῇ
7 ἐροῦντα, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τυγχάνει, εἴ πως ἔκ γε τούτου, οἶα ἀξιοῦσα πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐρᾶσθαι, τόν τε Ἀντώνιον ἀναχρήσαιτο καὶ ἑαυτὴν τά τε χρήματα ἀκέραια τηρήσειε. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως.

9 Πρὶν δὲ δὴ[1] ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, μαθὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὅτι Κορνήλιος Γάλλος τό τε τοῦ Σκάρπου στράτευμα παρείληφε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ Παραιτόνιον ἐξαίφνης παρελθὼν κατέσχηκεν, ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καίτοι βουληθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονομάχων μετάπεμψιν ὁρμῆσαι, οὐκ ἐπο-
2 ρεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐχώρησεν ὡς μάλιστα μὲν ἀκονιτὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσθησόμενος (ἦσαν γὰρ εὔνοιάν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἔχοντες), εἰ δὲ μή, βίᾳ γε χειρωσόμενος ἅτε καὶ

[1] δὴ Leuncl., ἤδη VM.

third embassy, sending him his son Antyllus with much gold. Caesar accepted the money, but sent the boy back empty-handed, giving him no answer. To Cleopatra, however, as in the first instance, so again on the second and third occasions, he sent many threats and promises alike. Yet he was afraid, even so, that they might perhaps despair of obtaining pardon from him and so hold out, and either prove superior by their own efforts, or set sail for Spain and Gaul, or else might destroy their wealth, which he kept hearing was of vast extent; for Cleopatra had collected it all in her tomb which she was constructing in the royal grounds, and she threatened to burn it all up with her in case she should fail of even the slightest of her demands. So he sent Thyrsus, a freedman of his, to say many kind things to her and in particular to tell her that he was in love with her. He hoped that by this means at least, since she thought it her due to be loved by all mankind, she would make away with Antony and keep herself and her money unharmed. And so it proved.

B.C. 30

But before this happened, Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken over Scarpus' army and had suddenly marched with these troops upon Paraetonium and occupied it. Hence, although he wished to set out for Syria in response to the summons of the gladiators, he did not go thither, but proceeded against Gallus, in the hope of winning over the troops without a struggle, if possible, inasmuch as they had been with him on campaigns and were fairly well disposed toward him, but otherwise of subduing them by force, since he was leading

δύναμιν πολλὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν ἐπαγό-
3 μενος. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ[1] διαλεχθῆναί τι αὐτοῖς ἠδυνήθη, καίπερ πρός τε τὸ τεῖχος προσελθὼν καὶ γεγωνὸν βοήσας· ὁ γὰρ Γάλλος τοὺς σαλπικτὰς[2] συνηχεῖν κελεύσας οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ ἐσακοῦσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπεκδρομῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἔπταισε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐσφάλη.
4 ἁλύσεις γάρ τινας ὑφύδρους νύκτωρ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λιμένος ὁ Γάλλος διατείνας οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ φανερὰν φυλακὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἀδεῶς εἴσω μετὰ καταφρονήματος ἐσπλέοντάς σφας περιεῖδεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, τάς τε ἁλύσεις μηχαναῖς ἀνέσπασε, καὶ πανταχόθεν ἅμα τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῆς τε θαλάσσης περισχὼν
5 τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τὰς δὲ κατεπόντωσε. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ, λόγῳ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἔργῳ δὲ προδοθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, ἔλαβεν. ἐκείνη γὰρ ὡς οὔτε τις ἐβοήθησέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνανταγώνιστον ὄντα ᾔσθετο, τό τε μέγιστον ἀκούσασα τοὺς διὰ τοῦ Θύρσου πεμφθέντας οἱ λόγους, ἐπίστευσεν ὄντως ἐρᾶσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐβούλετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ τόν τε
6 Ἀντώνιον ὁμοίως ἐδεδούλωτο. κἀκ τούτου οὐχ ὅπως τήν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἕξειν προσεδόκησε, τό τε Πηλούσιον εὐθὺς αὐτῷ προήκατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσελαύνοντι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκώλυσε τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας λάθρᾳ ἐπεξελ-

[1] οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε VM.
[2] σαλπικτὰς M, σαλπιγκτὰς V.

against them a large force both of ships and of infantry. Nevertheless, he was unable even to talk with them, although he approached their ramparts and raised a mighty shout; for Gallus ordered his trumpeters to sound their instruments all together and gave no one a chance to hear a word. Moreover, Antony also failed in a sudden assault and later suffered a reverse with his ships as well. Gallus, it seems, caused chains to be stretched at night across the mouth of the harbour under water, and then took no measures openly to guard against his opponents but contemptuously allowed them to sail in with perfect immunity. When they were inside, however, he drew up the chains by means of machines, and encompassing their ships on all sides—from the land, from the houses, and from the sea—he burned some and sank others. In the meantime Caesar took Pelusium, ostensibly by storm, but really because it was betrayed by Cleopatra. For she saw that no one came to their aid and perceived that Caesar was not to be withstood; and, most important of all, she listened to the message sent her through Thyrsus, and believed that she was really beloved, in the first place, because she wished to be, and, in the second place, because she had in the same manner enslaved Caesar's father and Antony. Consequently she expected to gain not only forgiveness and the sovereignty over the Egyptians, but the empire of the Romans as well. So she yielded Pelusium to him at once; and later, when he marched against the city, she prevented the Alexandrians from making a sortie. She accomplished this secretly, of course,

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θεῖν, ἐπεὶ ὅσον γε ἀπὸ βοῆς καὶ πάνυ σφᾶς προετρέψατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

10 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παραιτονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πελουσίου πύστιν ἐπανελθὼν προαπήντησε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸν κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς πορείας ὑπολαβὼν τοῖς 2 ἱππεῦσιν ἐνίκησεν. ἀναθαρσήσας τε ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ὅτι βιβλία ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεύμασιν ἐσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι καὶ χιλίας δραχμὰς ὑπισχνούμενος, συνέβαλε καὶ τῷ πεζῷ 3 καὶ ἡττήθη· ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία ἐθελοντὴς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνέγνω, τόν τε Ἀντώνιον διαβάλλων καὶ ἐκείνους ἔς τε τὴν τῆς προδοσίας αἰσχύνην καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προθυμίαν ἀντικαθιστάς, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς τῇ τε τῆς πείρας ἀγανακτήσει καὶ τῇ τοῦ μὴ ἐθελο- 4 κακεῖν δόξαι ἐνδείξει σπουδάσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπειδὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἠλαττώθη, πρός τε τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπέκλινε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ναυμαχήσων ἢ πάντως γε ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πλευσούμενος· ἰδοῦσα δὲ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τάς τε ναῦς αὐτομολῆσαι 5 ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐς τὸ ἠρίον ἐξαίφνης ἐσεπήδησε, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς τὸν Καίσαρα φοβουμένη καὶ προδιαφθεῖραι τρόπον τινὰ ἑαυτὴν βουλομένη, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκεῖσε ἐσελθεῖν προκαλουμένη· ὑπετόπει μὲν γὰρ προδίδοσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον 6 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐκείνην ἢ ἑαυτὸν[1] ἠλέει. ὅπερ που ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκριβῶς εἰδυῖα ἤλπισεν[2] ὅτι, ἂν πύθηται αὐτὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν, οὐκ ἐπιβιώσεται ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα ἀποθανεῖται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔς

[1] ἑαυτὸν M, ἑαυτὴν V. [2] ἤλπισεν M, ἤλπιζεν V.

since, to judge by the outcry she made, she exhorted them vigorously to do so. B.C. 30

At the news concerning Pelusium Antony returned from Paraetonium and went to meet Caesar in front of Alexandria, and attacking him with his cavalry, while the other was wearied from his march, he won the day. Encouraged by this success, and because he had shot arrows into Caesar's camp carrying leaflets which promised the men six thousand sesterces, he joined battle also with his infantry and was defeated. For Caesar of his own accord personally read the leaflets to his soldiers, at the same time reviling Antony and trying to turn them to a feeling of shame for the suggested treachery and of enthusiasm for himself; the result was that they were fired by zeal through this very incident, both by reason of their indignation at the attempt made upon their loyalty and by way of demonstrating that they were not subject to the suspicion of being base traitors. After his unexpected setback, Antony took refuge in his fleet, and was preparing to give battle on the sea or at any rate to sail to Spain. But Cleopatra, upon perceiving this, caused the ships to desert, and she herself rushed suddenly into the mausoleum, pretending that she feared Caesar and desired by some means or other to forestall him by taking her own life, but really as an invitation to Antony to enter there also. He had a suspicion, to be sure, that he was being betrayed, yet in his infatuation he could not believe it, but actually pitied her more, one might say, than himself. Cleopatra, doubtless, was fully aware of this and hoped that if he should be informed that she was dead, he would not wish to survive her, but would die at once. Accordingly

τε τὸ μνημεῖον σύν τε εὐνούχῳ τινὶ καὶ σὺν θεραπαίναις δύο ἐσέδραμε, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγγελίαν αὐτῷ
7 *ὡς καὶ ἀπολωλυῖα ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας τοῦτο οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαποθανεῖν αὐτῇ ἐπεθύμησε. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν παρόντων τινὸς ἐδεήθη ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἑαυτὸν κατειργάσατο, ζηλῶσαί τε αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔτρωσεν, καὶ ἔπεσέ τε ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ δόξαν τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς καὶ τεθνηκὼς*
8 *παρέσχε. θορύβου τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένου ᾔσθετό τε ἡ* Κλεοπάτρα *καὶ ὑπερέκυψεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνημείου· αἱ μὲν γὰρ θύραι αὐτοῦ συγκλεισθεῖσαι ἅπαξ οὐκέτ' ἀνοιχθῆναι ἐκ μηχανήματός τινος ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ἄνω πρὸς τῇ ὀροφῇ οὐδέπω παν-*
9 *τελῶς ἐξείργαστο. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ὑπερκύψασαν αὐτὴν ἰδόντες τινὲς ἀνεβόησαν ὥστε καὶ τὸν* Ἀν*τώνιον ἐσακοῦσαι· καὶ ὃς μαθὼν ὅτι περίεστιν, ἐξανέστη μὲν ὡς καὶ ζῆσαι δυνάμενος, προχυθέντος δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ ἱκέτευσε τοὺς παρόντας ὅπως πρός τε τὸ μνῆμα αὐτὸν κομίσωσι καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνολκὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνιμήσωσι.*

Καὶ *ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς* Κλεο-
11 *πάτρας κόλποις ἐναπέθανεν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἐθάρσησε μέν πως τὸν* Καίσαρα, *καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐδήλωσεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ πάνυ ἐπίστευε μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. κατεῖχεν οὖν ἑαυτὴν ἔνδον, ἵν' εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθείη, τῷ γε φόβῳ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρίηται.*
2 *οὕτω που καὶ τότε ἐν τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ οὖσα τῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μᾶλλόν γε ἔν τε τῷ*

she hastened into the tomb with a eunuch and two maidservants, and from there sent a message to him from which he should infer that she was dead. And he, when he heard it, did not delay, but was seized by a desire to follow her in death. He first asked one of the bystanders to slay him; but when the man drew his sword and slew himself, Antony wished to imitate his courage and so gave himself a wound and fell upon his face, causing the bystanders to believe that he was dead. At this an outcry was raised, and Cleopatra, hearing it, peered out over the top of the tomb. By a certain contrivance its doors, once closed, could not be opened again, but the upper part of it next to the roof was not yet fully completed. Now when some of them saw her peering out at this point, they raised a shout so that even Antony heard. So he, learning that she survived, stood up, as if he had still the power to live; but, as he had lost much blood, he despaired of his life and besought the bystanders to carry him to the monument and to hoist him up by the ropes that were hanging there to lift the stone blocks.

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So Antony died there in Cleopatra's bosom; and she now felt a certain confidence in Caesar, and immediately informed him of what had taken place; still, she was not altogether convinced that she would suffer no harm. She accordingly kept herself within the building, in order that, even if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her kingdom through his fear for the money. So thoroughly mindful was she even then, in the midst of her dire misfortune, of her royal rank, and chose rather to

ὀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ σχήματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἰδιωτεύσασα ζῆν ᾑρεῖτο. ἀμέλει εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἄλλα τε ἑρπετὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ, προπειραθεῖσα αὐτῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὅντινα τρόπον ἕκαστόν σφων ἀποκτίν-
3 νυσι. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκείνην ζῶσάν τε συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια ἀναγαγεῖν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς πίστιν τινὰ αὐτῇ δοὺς ἀπατεὼν δόξαι γεγονέναι ἠθέλησεν, ἵν' ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ ἀκουσίᾳ
4 τρόπον τινὰ χειρωθείσῃ χρήσηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γάιόν τε Προκουλέιον[1] ἱππέα καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐξελεύθερον, ἐντειλάμενός σφισιν ὅσα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρᾶξαι ἐχρῆν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι συμμίξαντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ μέτριά τινα διαλεχθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐξαίφνης συνήρπασαν
5 αὐτὴν πρίν τι ὁμολογηθῆναι. κἀκ τούτου ἐκποδὼν πάντα ἀφ' ὧν ἀποθανεῖν ἐδύνατο ποιησάμενοι, ἡμέρας μέν τινας κατὰ χώραν αὐτῇ τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σῶμα ταριχευούσῃ διατρῖψαι ἐπέτρεψαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια αὐτὴν ἤγαγον, μήτε τῆς ἀκολουθίας τι μήτε τῆς θεραπείας τῆς συνήθους οἱ παραλύσαντες, ὅπως ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐλπίσῃ τε ὅσα ἐβούλετο καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν ἑαυτὴν δράσῃ.
6 ἀμέλει καὶ ὀφθῆναι καὶ διαλεχθῆναί τι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐθελήσασα ἐπέτυχε· καὶ ἵνα γε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπατηθῇ, αὐτὸς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπέσχετο.

12 Οἶκόν τε οὖν ἐκπρεπῆ καὶ κλίνην πολυτελῆ παρασκευάσασα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἠμελημένως πως κοσμήσασα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμῳ

[1] Προκουλέιον Bs., προκούλιον VM.

die with the name and dignity of a sovereign than to live in a private station. At all events, she kept at hand fire to consume her wealth, and asps and other reptiles to destroy herself, and she had the latter tried on human beings, to see in what way they killed in each case. Now Caesar was anxious not only to get possession of her treasures but also to seize her alive and to carry her back for his triumph, yet he was unwilling to appear to have tricked her himself after having given her a kind of pledge, since he wished to treat her as a captive and to a certain extent subdued against her will. He therefore sent to her Gaius Proculeius, a knight, and Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions as to what they were to say and do. Following out this plan, they obtained an audience with Cleopatra, and after discussing with her some moderate proposals they suddenly seized her before any agreement was reached. After this they put out of her way everything by means of which she could cause her own death and allowed her to spend some days where she was, occupied in embalming Antony's body; then they took her to the palace, but did not remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants, in order that she should entertain more hope than ever of accomplishing all she desired, and so should do no harm to herself. At any rate, when she expressed a desire to appear before Caesar and to have an interview with him, she gained her request; and to deceive her still more, he promised that he would come to her himself.

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She accordingly prepared a splendid apartment and a costly couch, and moreover arrayed herself with affected negligence,—indeed, her mourning

σχήματι δεινῶς ἐνέπρεπεν) ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένη, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου οἱ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον
2 λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεπήδησέ τε ἐρρυθμισμένη,[1] καὶ ἔφη "χαῖρε ὦ δέσποτα· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφείλετο. ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς μέν που καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σου τοιοῦτον οἷος πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσῆλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅπως τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησέ με καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
3 ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δ' οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περὶ ἐμοῦ πύθῃ, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ γράμματα ἅ μοι αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐπέστειλε."

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἔλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγίγνωσκε. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔκλαε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεφίλει, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπιπτε καὶ ἐκείνας προσεκύνει.
4 τά τε βλέφαρα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπενέκλα, καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο, θρυπτικόν τέ τι προσεφθέγγετο, ἄλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα "ποῦ μοι, Καῖσαρ, ταῦτά σου τὰ γράμματα;" ἄλλοτε δὲ ὅτι "ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ σύ μοι ζῇς," εἶτα αὖθις "εἴθε σου προετεθνήκειν," καὶ μάλα αὖθις "ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἔχουσα σὲ ἔχω."
5 Τοιαύτῃ τινὶ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν σχημάτων ἐχρῆτο, μελιχρὰ ἄττα καὶ[2] προσβλέπουσα αὐτῷ καὶ λαλοῦσα. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ συνίει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαινομένης καὶ πληκτιζομένης,

[1] ἐρρυθμισμένη is the reading of VM; some editors have preferred ἠρυθριασμένη, the reading found in Xiphilinus' *Epitome.* [2] καὶ M, om. V.

garb wonderfully became her,—and seated herself upon the couch; beside her she placed many images of his father, of all kinds, and in her bosom she put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she leaped gracefully [1] to her feet and cried: "Hail, master—for Heaven has granted you the mastery and taken it from me.[2] But surely you can see with your own eyes how your father looked when he visited me on many occasions, and you have heard people tell how he honoured me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may, however, learn something about me from him himself, take and read the letters which he wrote me with his own hand."

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After she had spoken thus, she proceeded to read many passionate expressions of Caesar's. And now she would lament and kiss the letters, and again she would fall before his images and do them reverence. She kept turning her eyes toward Caesar and bewailing her fate in musical accents. She spoke in melting tones, saying at one time, "Of what avail to me, Caesar, are these thy letters?" and at another, "But in this man here thou also art alive for me"; again, "Would that I had died before thee," and still again, "But if I have him, I have thee."

Such were the subtleties of speech and of attitude which she employed, and sweet were the glances she cast at him and the words she murmured to him. Now Caesar was not insensible to the ardour of her speech and the appeal to his passions, but he pre-

[1] Or "blushing," if the variant reading offered by Xiphilinus be accepted.

[2] That is, the power she had exercised over Caesar, in consequence of which he had become her willing subject, was of no avail in the case of Augustus.

οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, "θάρσει, ὦ γύναι, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν
6 πείσῃ." περιαλγήσασα οὖν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσεῖδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τι ἢ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἢ καὶ ἐρωτικόν τι ἐφθέγξατο, πρός τε τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα "ζῆν μέν" ἔφη, "Καῖσαρ, οὔτε ἐθέλω οὔτε δύναμαι· ταύτην δέ σε τὴν χάριν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην αἰτῶ, ἵν' ἐπειδή με Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ δαίμων παρέ-
7 δωκε, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω. εἴθε μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλώλειν εὐθὺς τότε μετὰ τὸν Καίσαρα· ἐπεὶ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψον με πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, μηδέ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ταφῆς φθονήσῃς, ἵν' ὥσπερ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀποθνήσκω, οὕτω καὶ ἐν Ἅιδου αὐτῷ συνοικήσω."

13 Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἔλεγε, Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἑαυτὴν διαχρήσηται,[1] θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῇ αὖθις παρεκελεύσατο, καὶ οὔτε τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτὴν
2 ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπιλαμπρύνῃ. τοῦτό τε οὖν ὑποτοπήσασα, καὶ μυρίων θανάτων χαλεπώτερον αὐτὸ νομίσασα εἶναι, ὄντως τε ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅπως τροπον τινὰ ἀπόληται, ἐδεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
3 ἐμηχανᾶτο. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, μεταγιγνώσκειν τε ἐπλάσατο ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν μὲν καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιουίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἑκουσία τε πλευσεῖσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ κόσμους τινὰς ἀποθέτους ἐς δῶρα ἡτοιμάζετο, εἴ πως πί-

[1] διαχρήσηται R. Steph., διαχρήσεται VM.

tended to be; and letting his eyes rest upon the ground, he merely said: "Be of good cheer, woman, and keep a stout heart; for you shall suffer no harm." She was greatly distressed because he would neither look at her nor say anything about the kingdom nor even utter a word of love, and falling at his knees, she said with an outburst of sobbing: "I neither wish to live nor can I live, Caesar. But this favour I beg of you in memory of your father, that, since Heaven gave me to Antony after him, I may also die with Antony. Would that I had perished then, straightway after Caesar! But since it was decreed by fate that I should suffer this affliction also,[1] send me to Antony; grudge me not burial with him, in order that, as it is because of him I die, so I may dwell with him even in Hades."

B.C. 30

Such words she uttered, expecting to move him to pity, but Caesar made no answer to them; fearing, however, that she might destroy herself, he exhorted her again to be of good cheer, and not only did not remove any of her attendants but also took special care of her, that she might add brilliance to his triumph. This purpose she suspected, and regarding that fate as worse than a thousand deaths, she conceived a genuine desire to die, and not only addressed many entreaties to Caesar that she might perish in some manner or other, but also devised many plans herself. But when she could accomplish nothing, she feigned a change of heart, pretending to set great hopes in him and also in Livia. She said she would sail of her own free will, and she made ready some treasured articles of adornment to use as gifts,

[1] That is, that she had not been able to die with Caesar.

στιν ἐκ τούτων μὴ τεθνήξειν[1] λαβοῦσα ἧττόν τε
4 τηρηθείη καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐξεργάσαιτο. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ᾧπερ[2] ἐπετέτραπτο, πιστεύσαντες ταῦθ' ὡς ἀληθῶς φρονεῖν, τῆς ἀκριβοῦς φυλακῆς ἠμέλησαν, παρεσκευάζετο ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα ἀποθάνῃ. καὶ γραμματεῖόν τι, δι' οὗ ἐδεήθη τοῦ Καίσαρος ἵνα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ταφῆναι κελεύσῃ, αὐτῷ τῷ
5 Ἐπαφροδίτῳ σεσημασμένον, ὅπως προφάσει τῆς ἀποκομιδῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἔχοντος ἐκποδών οἱ γένηται, δοῦσα ἔργου εἴχετο. τήν τε γὰρ ἐσθῆτα τὴν περικαλλεστάτην ἐνδῦσα, καὶ ἑαυτὴν εὐπρεπέστατα εὐθετήσασα, τό τε σχῆμα τὸ βασιλικὸν πᾶν ἀναλαβοῦσα, ἀπέθανε.

14 Καὶ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ᾧ τρόπῳ διεφθάρη· κεντήματα γὰρ λεπτὰ περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτῆς μόνα εὑρέθη· λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἀσπίδα ἐν ὑδρίᾳ[3] ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄνθεσί τισιν ἐσκομισθεῖσάν οἱ
2 προσέθετο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι βελόνην, ᾗ τὰς τρίχας ἀνεῖρεν, ἰῷ τινι, δύναμιν τοιαύτην ἔχοντι ὥστε ἄλλως μὲν μηδὲν τὸ σῶμα βλάπτειν, ἂν δ' αἵματος καὶ βραχυτάτου ἅψηται, καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα αὐτὸ φθείρειν, χρίσασα τέως μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐφόρει ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τότε δὲ προκατανύξασά τι[4] τὸν βραχίονα ἐς τὸ αἷμα ἐνέβαλεν.
3 οὕτω μέν, ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα, μετὰ τῶν δύο θεραπαινῶν ἀπώλετο· ὁ γὰρ εὐνοῦχος ἅμα τῷ συλληφθῆναι αὐτὴν τοῖς τε ἑρπετοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐθελοντὴς

[1] τεθνήξειν Dind., τεθνήσειν VM.
[2] ᾧπερ M, ὥσπερ V.
[3] ὑδρίᾳ R. Steph., ὑδρείαι VM.
[4] τι Oddey, τινὶ VM.

in the hope that by these means she might inspire belief that it was not her purpose to die, and so might be less closely guarded and thus be able to destroy herself. And so it came about. For as soon as the others and Epaphroditus, to whose charge she had been committed, had come to believe that she really felt as she pretended to, and neglected to keep a careful watch, she made her preparations to die as painlessly as possible. First she gave a sealed paper, in which she begged Caesar to order that she be buried beside Antony, to Epaphroditus himself to deliver, pretending that it contained some other matter, and then, having by this excuse freed herself of his presence, she set to her task. She put on her most beautiful apparel, arranged her body in most seemly fashion, took in her hands all the emblems of royalty, and so died. B.C. 30

No one knows clearly in what way she perished, for the only marks on her body were slight pricks on the arm. Some say that she applied to herself an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar, or perhaps hidden in some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a pin, with which she was wont to fasten her hair, with some poison possessed of such a property that in ordinary circumstances it would not injure the body at all, but if it came in contact with even a drop of blood would destroy the body very quickly and painlessly; and that previous to this time she had worn it in her hair as usual, but now had made a slight scratch on her arm and had dipped the pin in the blood. In this or in some very similar way she perished, and her two handmaidens with her. As for the eunuch, he had of his own accord delivered himself up to the serpents at the very time

παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς σορὸν προπαρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἐσεπεπηδήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ τό τε σῶμα αὐτῆς εἶδε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλ-
4 λους, εἴ πως ἀνασφήλειε, προσήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ψύλλοι οὗτοι ἄνδρες μέν εἰσι (γυνὴ γὰρ οὐ γίγνεται Ψύλλα), δύνανται δὲ πάντα τε ἰὸν παντὸς ἑρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θνήσκειν τινά, ἐκμυζᾶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντες
5 βλάπτεσθαι. φύονται δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ἤτοι μετ' ὄφεών που εὐθὺς ἐμβληθέντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἐπιβληθέντων τισίν· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ παιδίῳ τι λυμαίνονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ναρκῶσι.
6 τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ μηδένα τρόπον ἀναβιώσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνηθεὶς ἐκείνην μὲν καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἠλέησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δόξης ἐστερημένος.

15 Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πολλῶν μὲν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶν αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, οὕτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησαν, ἔν τε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐταριχεύθησαν, κἀν τῇ αὐτῇ θήκῃ ἐτάφησαν. ἔσχον δὲ τήν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ
2 βίου τοιάνδε. ὁ μὲν συνεῖναί τε τὸ δέον οὐδενὸς ἥσσων ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἀφρόνως ἔπραξεν, ἀνδρείᾳ τε ἔν τισι διέπρεψε καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας συχνὰ ἐσφάλη, τῇ τε μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τῇ δουλοπρεπείᾳ

of Cleopatra's arrest, and after being bitten by them had leaped into a coffin already prepared for him. When Caesar heard of Cleopatra's death, he was astounded, and not only viewed her body but also made use of drugs and Psylli[1] in the hope that she might revive. These Psylli are males, for there is no woman born in their tribe, and they have the power to suck out any poison of any reptile, if use is made of them immediately, before the victim dies; and they are not harmed themselves when bitten by any such creature. They are propagated from one another and they test their offspring either by having them thrown among serpents as soon as they are born or else by having their swaddling-clothes thrown upon serpents; for the reptiles in the one case do no harm to the child, and in the other case are benumbed by its clothing. So much for this matter. But Caesar, when he could not in any way resuscitate Cleopatra, felt both admiration and pity for her, and was excessively grieved on his own account, as if he had been deprived of all the glory of his victory.

B.C. 30

Thus Antony and Cleopatra, who had caused many evils to the Egyptians and many to the Romans, made war and met their death in the manner I have described; and they were both embalmed in the same fashion and buried in the same tomb. Their qualities of character and the fortunes of their lives were as follows. Antony had no superior in comprehending his duty, yet he committed many acts of folly. He sometimes distinguished himself for bravery, yet often failed through cowardice. He was characterized equally by greatness of soul

[1] Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 78.

ἐξ ἴσου ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τά τε ἀλλότρια ἥρπαζε καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προΐετο, ἠλέει τε ἀλόγως συχνοὺς καὶ
3 ἐκόλαζεν ἀδίκως πλείονας· κἀκ τούτων ἰσχυρότατός τε ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου καὶ πλουσιώτατος ἐξ ἀπορωτάτου γενόμενος οὐδετέρου αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο,[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κράτος τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνος ἕξειν
4 ἐλπίσας αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἄπληστος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἄπληστος δὲ χρημάτων γενομένη, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ φιλοδόξῳ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ περιφρονήσει θρασείᾳ χρησαμένη, τήν τε βασιλείαν τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐκτήσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λήψεσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίσασα ταύτης τε ἐσφάλη καὶ ἐκείνην προσαπώλεσε, δύο τε ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὴν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, καὶ διὰ τὸν τρίτον ἑαυτὴν κατεχρήσατο.

5 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν· τῶν δὲ δὴ παίδων αὐτῶν Ἄντυλλος μέν, καίτοι τήν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα ἠγγυημένος[2] καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡρῷον, ὃ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποιήκει, καταφυγών, εὐθὺς ἐσφάγη, Καισαρίων δὲ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν φεύγων κατε-
6 λήφθη τε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ διεφθάρη. ἥ τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰούβᾳ τῷ τοῦ Ἰούβου παιδὶ συνῴκησε· τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσαμένῳ οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῴαν ἔδωκε, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐχαρίσατο.
7 ταῖς τε ἀδελφιδαῖς, ἃς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἡ Ὀκταουία ἀνῄρητό τε καὶ ἐτετρόφει, χρήματα ἀπὸ

[1] ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπώνατο VM cod. Peir.
[2] ἠγγυημένος Dind., ἐγγεγυημένος M, ἐγγενημένος V.

and by servility of mind. He would plunder the property of others and would squander his own. He showed compassion to many without cause and punished even more without justice. Consequently, though he rose from utter weakness to great power, and from the depths of poverty to great riches, he derived no profit from either circumstance, but after hoping to gain single-handed the empire of the Romans, he took his own life. Cleopatra was of insatiable passion and insatiable avarice; she was swayed often by laudable ambition, but often by overweening effrontery. By love she gained the title of Queen of the Egyptians, and when she hoped by the same means to win also that of Queen of the Romans, she failed of this and lost the other besides. She captivated the two greatest Romans of her day, and because of the third she destroyed herself.

B.C. 30

Such were these two and such was their end. Of their children, Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar and had taken refuge in his father's shrine, which Cleopatra had built; and Caesarion while fleeing to Ethiopia was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers, and as a favour to them spared the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, the daughters whom Octavia had had by Antony and had reared, he assigned money from their father's estate. He

τῶν πατρῴων ἀπένειμε. καὶ τῷ Ἰούλλῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῆς τε Φουλουίας υἱεῖ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα τελευτῶντάς σφας καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει παραχρῆμα δοῦναι
16 *ἐκέλευσε. τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ἢ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φίλους. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων παῖδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὁμηρείᾳ οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὕβρει τρεφόμενοι εὑρέθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἴκαδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλήλοις συνῴκισεν, ἑτέρους*
2 *τε κατέσχεν. ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐάσω, δύο δὲ δὴ μόνων ὀνομαστὶ μνησθήσομαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰωτάπην τῷ Μήδῳ καταφυγόντι μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑκὼν ἀπέδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀρτάξῃ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καίπερ αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔπεμψεν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ Ῥωμαίους ἀπεκτόνει.*

3 Περὶ *μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐγίγνετο, τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων πάντων ἐφείσατο ὥστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίωσε τοσούτους τε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ χρησιμωτάτους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐς πολλὰ ἂν γενο-*
4 *μένους ἀνήκεστόν τι δρᾶσαι· πρόφασιν δὲ ὅμως προυβάλλετο τόν τε θεὸν τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τρίτον Ἄρειον τὸν πολίτην, ᾧ που φιλοσοφοῦντί τε καὶ συνόντι οἱ ἐχρῆτο. καὶ τόν γε λόγον δι' οὗ συνέγνω σφίσιν, ἑλληνιστί, ὅπως συνῶσιν αὐτοῦ,*
5 *εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα εἶδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήψατο, ὥστε τι τῆς ῥινός, ὥς φασι, θραυσθῆναι· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν*

also ordered Antony's freedmen to give at once to Iullus, the son of Antony and Fulvia, everything which by law they would have been required to bequeath him at their death. As for the rest who had been connected with Antony's cause up to this time, he punished some and pardoned others, either from personal motives or to oblige his friends. And since there were found at the court many children of princes and kings who were being kept there, some as hostages and others out of a spirit of arrogance, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another, and retained still others. I shall omit most of these cases and mention only two. Of his own accord he restored Iotape to the Median king, who had found an asylum with him after his defeat; but he refused the request of Artaxes that his brothers be sent to him, because this prince had put to death the Romans left behind in Armenia. B.C. 30

This was the disposition he made of such captives; and in the case of the Egyptians and Alexandrians, he spared them all, so that none perished. The truth was that he did not see fit to inflict any irreparable injury upon a people so numerous, who might prove very useful to the Romans in many ways; nevertheless, he offered as a pretext for his kindness their god Serapis, their founder Alexander, and, in the third place, their fellow-citizen Areius, of whose learning and companionship he availed himself. The speech in which he proclaimed to them his pardon he delivered in Greek, so that they might understand him. After this he viewed the body of Alexander and actually touched it, whereupon, it is said, a piece of the nose was broken off. But he declined

Πτολεμαίων, καίτοι τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων σπουδῇ βουληθέντων αὐτῷ δεῖξαι, οὐκ ἐθεάσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "βασιλέα ἀλλ' οὐ νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησα." κἀκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας οὐδὲ τῷ Ἄπιδι ἐντυχεῖν ἠθέλησε, λέγων θεοὺς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς

17 προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τήν τε Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐπέτρεψε· πρός τε γὰρ τὸ πολύανδρον καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾴδιον τό τε κοῦφον τῶν τρόπων αὐτῶν, τήν τε σιτοπομπίαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα, οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐνεπιδημεῖν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν, ἂν μή τινι αὐτὸς

2 ὀνομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις βουλεύειν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὡς ἑκάστοις, τοῖς δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τοσαύτην που

3 νεωτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω. καί σφων οὕτω τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσεται, βουλεύουσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ' Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες.

4 Αἴγυπτος μὲν οὕτως ἐδουλώθη· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀντισχόντες αὐτῶν χρόνον τινὰ ἐχειρώθησαν, ὥς που καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιόν σφισιν ἐναργέστατα προέδειξεν. ὗσέ τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως ὕδατι, ἔνθα μηδὲ ἐψέκασέ ποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἵματι· ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν ἐξέπιπτε καὶ ὅπλα παρε-

5 φαίνετο. κτυπήματά τέ τινα ἑτέρωθι καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ βοήματα καὶ αὐλῶν

to view the remains of the Ptolemies, though the Alexandrians were extremely eager to show them, remarking, "I wished to see a king, not corpses." For this same reason he would not enter the presence of Apis, either, declaring that he was accustomed to worship gods, not cattle. Afterwards he made Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius Gallus. For in view of the populousness of both the cities and country, the facile, fickle character of the inhabitants, and the extent of the grain-supply and of the wealth, so far from daring to entrust the land to any senator, he would not even grant a senator permission to live in it, except as he personally made the concession to him by name. On the other hand he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in Rome; but whereas he made various dispositions as regards the several cities, he commanded the Alexandrians to conduct their government without senators; with such capacity for revolution, I suppose, did he credit them. And of the system then imposed upon them most details are rigorously preserved at the present time, but they have their senators both in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor Severus, and also in Rome, these having first been enrolled in the senate in the reign of Severus' son Antoninus.

B.C. 30

Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as, indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them beforehand. For it rained not only water where no drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of

καὶ σαλπίγγων ἐγίγνετο, καί τις δράκων ὑπερμεγέθης ἐξαίφνης σφίσιν ὀφθεὶς ἀμήχανον ὅσον ἐξεσύρισε. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ἀστέρες κομῆται ἑωρῶντο, καὶ νεκρῶν εἴδωλα ἐφαντάζετο, τά τε ἀγάλματα ἐσκυθρώπασε, καὶ ὁ Ἆπις ὀλοφυρτικόν τι ἐμυκήσατο καὶ κατεδάκρυσε.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, χρήματα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὑρέθη (πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἱερῶν ἀναθήματα ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἀνελομένη συνεπλήθυσε τὰ λάφυρα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄνευ τινὸς οἰκείου αὐτῶν μιάσματος[1]), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑκάστου τῶν αἰτιαθέντων 7 τι[2] ἠθροίσθη. καὶ χωρὶς οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, ὅσοι μηδὲν ἴδιον ἔγκλημα λαβεῖν ἐδύναντο, τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν οὐσιῶν ᾐτήθησαν.[3] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πάντες μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται τὰ ἐποφειλόμενά σφισιν ἐκομίσαντο, οἱ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, ὥστε 8 μὴ διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν, προσεπέλαβον. τοῖς τε προδανείσασί τι πάντα ἀπηλλάγη, καὶ τοῖς συμμετασχοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πάμπολλα ἐδόθη, τό τε σύμπαν ἥ τε ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπλουτίσθη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐκοσμήθη.

18 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ὡς τά τε προειρημένα ἔπραξε, καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ συνῴκισε, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτῇ ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ δούς, τάς τε διώρυχας τὰς μὲν ἐξεκάθηρε τὰς δὲ ἐκ καινῆς διώρυξε, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ προσήκοντα προσδιῴκησεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν

[1] μιάσματος M, βιάσματος V. [2] τι M, om. V.
[3] ᾐτήθησαν R. Steph., ἡττήθησαν VM.

flutes and trumpets, and a serpent of huge size suddenly appeared to them and uttered an incredibly loud hiss. Meanwhile comets were seen and dead men's ghosts appeared, the statues frowned, and Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears.

B.C. 30

So much for these events. In the palace quantities of treasure were found. For Cleopatra had taken practically all the offerings from even the holiest shrines and so helped the Romans swell their spoils without incurring any defilement on their own part. Large sums were also obtained from every man against whom any charge of misdemeanour was brought. And apart from these, all the rest, even though no particular complaint could be lodged against them, had two-thirds of their property demanded of them. Out of this wealth all the troops received what was owing them, and those who were with Caesar at the time got in addition a thousand sesterces on condition of not plundering the city. Repayment was made in full to those who had previously advanced loans, and to both the senators and the knights who had taken part in the war large sums were given. In fine, the Roman empire was enriched and its temples adorned.

After accomplishing the things just related Caesar founded a city there on the very site of the battle and gave to it the same name and the same games as to the city he had founded previously.[1] He also cleared out some of the canals and dug others over again, besides attending to other important matters. Then he went through Syria into the province of

[1] See chap. 1, 3.

τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα παρεχείμασε, τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἕκαστα καὶ τὰ
2 τῶν Πάρθων ἅμα καθιστάμενος. στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν καί τινος Τιριδάτου[1] τῷ Φραάτῃ ἐπαναστάντος, πρότερον μέν, καὶ ἕως ἔτι τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθειστήκει, οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προσέθετό τῳ[2] αὐτῶν συμμαχίαν αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι βουλεύσεται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀσχολίαν ἔχων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵν' ἐκτρυχω-
3 θεῖεν ἐν τούτῳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐκείνων ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, τούτοις τε φιλικῶς ἐχρημάτισε, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτῃ βοηθήσειν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέσχετο διαιτᾶσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, υἱόν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας[3] μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρείᾳ ἐποιήσατο.

19 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον συχνὰ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκῃ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο. τά τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ ἁψῖδα τροπαιοφόρον ἔν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ ἀγορᾷ
2 ἔδωκαν· τήν τε κρηπῖδα τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ἡρῴου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθῆναι, καὶ πανήγυρίν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἄγεσθαι, ἔν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρᾳ ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς

[1] Τιριδάτου Dind., τειριδάτου VM (and so just below).
[2] τῳ M, om. V. [3] εὐεργεσίας M, εὐεργεσίᾳ V.

Asia and passed the winter there settling the various affairs of the subject nations as well as those of the Parthians. It seems there had been dissension among the Parthians and a certain Tiridates had risen against Phraates; and hitherto, as long as Antony's opposition lasted, even after the naval battle, Caesar had not only not attached himself to either side, though they sought his alliance, but had not even answered them except to say that he would think the matter over. His excuse was that he was busy with Egypt, but in reality he wanted them in the meantime to exhaust themselves by fighting against each other. But now that Antony was dead and of the two combatants Tiridates, defeated, had taken refuge in Syria, and Phraates, victorious, had sent envoys, he entered into friendly negotiations with the latter; and, without promising to aid Tiridates, he permitted him to live in Syria. He received from Phraates one of his sons by way of conferring a favour upon him, and taking him to Rome, kept him as a hostage. B.C. 30

During this time and still earlier the Romans at home had passed many resolutions in honour of Caesar's naval victory. Thus they granted him a triumph, as over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman Forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of Octavius; that there should also be a thanksgiving on his birthday and on the anniversary of the announcement of his victory; also that when he should enter the city the

ἀειπαρθένους· καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τόν τε δῆμον μετά τε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀπαντῆσαι ἔγνωσαν. 3 τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τάς τε εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα περιττόν ἐστιν ἤδη λέγειν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην ἐκείνῳ τε[1] ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλον τὰ δ' ἀπήλειψαν, τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεγέννητο μιαρὰν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπεῖπον μηδενὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ εἶναι. 4 ὡς μέντοι καὶ τεθνεῶτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθοντο (ἠγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο Κικέρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατεύοντος), τοῦτό τέ τινες ὡς[2] οὐκ ἀθεεὶ δὴ συμβὰν ἐλάμβανον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὅτι μάλιστ' ἐτεθνήκει, 5 καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ἱερομηνίας πολλάς, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερα ἐπινίκια ὡς καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγαγεῖν ἔδοσαν· τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ νικηθέντας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε τότε, ὡς καὶ ἑορτάζειν σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δέον, ὠνόμασαν. 6 τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἑάλω, ἀγαθήν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τήν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ἔχειν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβοωμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ ἔξω μέχρις ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ἀμύνειν, ὃ μηδενὶ

[1] τε M, om. V. [2] ὡς supplied by Bk.

Vestal Virgins and the senate and the people with their wives and children should go out to meet him. But it would be quite superfluous to go on and mention the prayers, the images, the privilege of the front seat, and all the other honours of the sort. At the beginning, then, they not only voted him these honours but also either took down or effaced the memorials of Antony, declared the day on which he had been born accursed, and forbade the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. When, however, they learned of Antony's death, the news of which came while Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul for a part of the year, some held that it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony; and they voted to Caesar crowns and thanksgivings in great number and granted him the privilege of celebrating another triumph, this time over the Egyptians. For neither on the previous occasion nor at this time did they mention by name Antony and the other Romans who had been vanquished with him and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat. The day on which Alexandria had been captured they declared a lucky day, and directed that in future years it should be taken by the inhabitants of that city as the starting-point in their reckoning of time. They also decreed that Caesar should hold the tribunician power for life, that he should aid those who called upon him for help both within the pomerium and outside for a distance of one mile,[1]—

B.C. 30

[1] Literally, "as far as the eighth half-stade," which means seven and a half stades, that is, one mile, according to Dio's usage. See note on xxxviii. 18.

7 τῶν δημαρχούντων ἐξῆν, ἔκκλητόν τε δικάζειν, καὶ ψῆφόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὥσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς φέρεσθαι, τούς τε ἱερέας καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμοίως εὔχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν.

20 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου τά τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμηνίᾳ ὅρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἦλθεν, ἔς τε τοὺς ὕμνους αὐτὸν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς θεοῖς ἐσγρά-
2 φεσθαι,[1] καὶ φυλὴν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν τῷ ἐπινικίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγύρεων χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς συννικήσαντάς οἱ βουλευτὰς ἐν περιπορφύροις ἱμα-
3 τίοις τὴν πομπὴν αὐτῷ συμπέμψαι, τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέλθῃ θυσίαις τε πανδημεὶ ἀγαλθῆναι καὶ ἱερὰν ἀεὶ ἄγεσθαι, ἱερέας τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅσους ἂν ἀεὶ ἐθελήσῃ, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστήσαντο· ὅπερ που ἐξ ἐκείνου παραδοθὲν ἐς ἀόριστον ἐπηυξήθη, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆναί με περὶ τοῦ πλήθους
4 αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πλὴν βραχέων ἐδέξατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντῆσαι

[1] ἐσγράφεσθαι M, ἐγγράφεσθαι V.

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[1] The tribunes' authority, as a matter of fact, extended to the first mile-stone outside the city; see Livy iii. 20, 7. Dio is apparently labouring under a misapprehension.

a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes,[1]—also that he should judge appealed cases, and that in all the courts his vote was to be cast as Athena's vote.[2] The priests and priestesses also in their prayers in behalf of the people and the senate were to pray for him likewise, and at all banquets, not only public but private as well, everybody was to pour a libation to him. B.C. 30

These were the decrees passed at that time; and when he was consul for the fifth time, with Sextus Apuleius, they ratified all his acts by oath on the very first day of January. When the letter came regarding the Parthians, they further arranged that his name should be included in their hymns equally with those of the gods; that a tribe should be called the "Julian" after him; that he should wear the triumphal crown at all the festivals; that the senators who had participated in his victory should take part in the triumphal procession arrayed in purple-bordered togas; that the day on which he entered the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the whole population and be held sacred for evermore; and that he might choose priests even beyond the regular number,—as many, in fact, as he should wish on any occasion. This last-named privilege, handed down from that time, was afterwards indefinitely extended, so that I need not henceforth make a point of giving the exact number of such officials. Now Caesar accepted all but a few of these honours, though he expressly requested that one of them, the proposal that the whole population of the city should B.C. 29

[2] That is, in case of a tie vote, Caesar's vote, like Athena's in the Areopagus at Athens, was to decide in favour of acquittal. Cf. Aesch., *Eumen.* 737 ff.; Eur., *Iph. T.* 965 f., 1472.

παρῃτήσατο ἄντικρυς μὴ γενέσθαι. πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τάς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐποίησαν·
5 καὶ γὰρ τότε δι' ἅπερ εἶπον διελέλειπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι καὶ Τρήουηροι[1] Κελτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάνταβροι[2] καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ Ἄστυρες· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλίου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν· ἄλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἑκάστους ταραχώδη συχνὰ ἐγίγνετο· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὔτε ἐγὼ ἐπιφανές τι[3] περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω.

6 Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἔν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν· αὗται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ
7 προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἕλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει,
8 ἐγένετο. ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ

[1] Τρήουηροι Bs., τρηούροι VM.
[2] Κάνταβροι R. Steph., ἄνταβροι VM.
[3] τι M., om. V.

go out to meet him, should not be put into effect. B.C. 29 Nevertheless, the action which pleased him more than all the decrees was the closing by the senate of the gates of Janus, implying that all their wars had entirely ceased, and the taking of the *augurium salutis,* which had at this time fallen into disuse for the reasons I have mentioned.[1] To be sure, there were still under arms the Treveri, who had brought in the Germans to help them, and the Cantabri, the Vaccaei, and the Astures,—the three last-named of whom were later subjugated by Statilius Taurus, and the former by Nonius Gallus,—and there were also numerous other disturbances going on in various regions; yet inasmuch as nothing of importance resulted from them, the Romans at the time did not consider that they were engaged in war, nor have I, for my part, anything notable to record about them.

Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and in Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero Julius.[2] These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy

[1] Cf. xxxvii. 24. [2] *i.e.* Divus Iulius.

Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μεταλλάξασι μέντοι κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλαι τε ἰσόθεοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῷα ποιεῖται.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο,[1] καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν. 21 τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντος οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἔθυσαν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος Οὐαλέριος Ποτῖτος· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ 2 Ποτῖτος διεδέξατο. οὗτος οὖν δημοσίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξει ἐβουθύτησεν· ὃ μήπω πρότερον ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεγόνει. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τούς τε ὑποστρατήγους καὶ ἐπή3 νεσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ τόν τε Ἀγρίππαν ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ σημείῳ κυανοειδεῖ ναυκρατητικῷ προσεπεσέμνυνε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκέ τινα· τῷ τε δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν[2] δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἄνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν 4 ἀδελφιδοῦν, διένειμε. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτοις, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσῆκον οὐκ ἐδέξατο,

[1] ἐγένετο V, ἐγένοντο M. [2] ἑκατὸν M, ἑαυτὸν V.

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[1] Cf. chap. 1, 2. [2] Cf. chap. 20, 3.
[3] In earlier times it had been customary, when a general

generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still, even there various divine honours are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in fact, shrines are built to them. B.C. 29

All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the "sacred" games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar's temple.[1] In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned,[2] but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalf of the senate and of the people upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar bestowed eulogies and honours upon his lieutenants, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus. In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns[3] they had voted him, and because,

won a triumph, for the cities of his province to send gold crowns, which were carried before him in the triumphal procession. By Cicero's time it was a common practice to send, instead of the crowns themselves, their value in money (*aureum coronarium*); and this was now regarded as a form of tribute.

καὶ ὅτι[1] *καὶ πάντα ἃ τε αὐτὸς ὤφειλέ τισιν ἀπέδωκε, καὶ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπώφειλον οὐκ ἐσέπραξεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν τε δυσχερῶν πάντων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπελάθοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ ἡδέως ὡς καὶ ἀλλοφύλων ἁπάντων τῶν ἡττη-*
5 *θέντων ὄντων εἶδον· τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων διὰ πάσης ὁμοίως τῆς πόλεως ἐχώρησεν ὥστε τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἐπιτιμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δανείσματα ἀγαπητῶς ἐπὶ δραχμῇ πρότερον ὄντα τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τριτημορίῳ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι. ἑώρτασε δὲ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τά τε τῶν Παννονίων καὶ τὰ τῶν Δελματῶν, τῆς τε Ἰαπυδίας*[2] *καὶ τῶν προσχώρων σφίσι,*[3] *Κελτῶν τε καὶ Γαλατῶν τινων.*
6 *Γάιος γὰρ Καρρίνας τούς τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς συνεπαναστάντας αὐτοῖς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τοὺς Σουήβους τὸν*[4] *Ῥῆνον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διαβάντας ἀπεώσατο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἤγαγε μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὰ νικητήρια, καίτοι τοῦ τε πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου θανατωθέντος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρξαι ποτὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ κωλυθείς, ἤγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀναφορὰ τῆς νίκης τῇ αὐτοκράτορι αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσα*
7 *ἦν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα διεωρτάσθη, ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ναυκρατία, κἀν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταστροφή. ἐπιφανεῖς μὲν δὴ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πομπαὶ διὰ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λάφυρα ἐγένοντο (τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἠθροίσθη ὥστε πάσαις ἐπαρκέσαι), πολυτελεστάτη*
8 *δ' οὖν καὶ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτη αὕτη ἡ Αἰγυπτία. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐν τῷ*

[1] ὅτι Rk., ἔτι VM. [2] Ἰαπυδίας Xyl., ἰαπυγίας VM.
[3] σφίσι M, om. V. [4] τὸν Bk., τόν τε VM.

furthermore, he not only paid all the debts he himself owed to others, as has been stated,[1] but also did not insist on the payment of others' debts to him, the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners. So vast an amount of money, in fact, circulated through all parts of the city alike, that the price of goods rose and loans for which the borrower had been glad to pay twelve per cent. could now be had for one third that rate. As for the triumph, Caesar celebrated on the first day his victories over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the Iapydes and their neighbours, and some Germans and Gauls. For Gaius Carrinas had subdued the Morini and others who had revolted with them, and had repulsed the Suebi, who had crossed the Rhine to wage war. Not only did Carrinas, therefore, celebrate the triumph,—and that notwithstanding that his father had been put to death by Sulla and that he himself along with the others in like condition had once been debarred from holding office,—but Caesar also celebrated it, since the credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander. This was the first day's celebration. On the second day the naval victory at Actium was commemorated, and on the third the subjugation of Egypt. Now all the processions proved notable, thanks to the spoils from Egypt,—in such quantities, indeed, had spoils been gathered there that they sufficed for all the processions,—but the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence. Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch was carried by, so that

B.C. 29

[1] Cf. chap. 17, 8.

τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνην μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς 9 πομπεῖον ὀφθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἔπραξε, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τούς τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας περιεῖδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπισπομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν συννενικηκότων· εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι οἱ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι.[1]

22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τό τε Ἀθήναιον τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὠνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ Ἰουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῇ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς 2 ἔοικεν, ὅτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο· ἦν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραντίνων, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἱδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τοῦ 3 Ἰουλίου ἡρῴῳ ὁσιωθέντι τότε ὑπῆρξε· συχνὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο ἀνετέθη, καὶ ἕτερα τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ ἱερώθη, πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακεῖσθαι δοκούντων ἢ καὶ ἔτι κειμένων ἐκ δόγματος τότε καθαιρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων.[2] καὶ οὕτως ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἡττηθεῖσα καὶ ἁλοῦσα

[1] ἐφέπεσθαι M, ἕπεσθαι V.
[2] μεμιασμένων v. Herwerden, μεμιαμμένων VM.

in a way she, too, together with the other captives and with her children, Alexander, called also Helios, and Cleopatra, called also Selene, was a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession. After this came Caesar, riding into the city behind them all. He did everything in the customary manner, except that he permitted his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to precedent, to follow him along with the senators who had participated in the victory; for it was usual for such officials to march in advance and for only the senators to follow.[1] B.C. 29

After finishing this celebration Caesar dedicated the temple of Minerva, called also the Chalcidicum, and the Curia Iulia, which had been built in honour of his father. In the latter he set up the statue of Victory which is still in existence, thus signifying probably that it was from her that he had received the empire. It had belonged to the people of Tarentum, whence it was now brought to Rome, placed in the senate-chamber, and decked with the spoils of Egypt. The same course was followed in the case of the shrine of Julius which was consecrated at this time, for many of these spoils were placed in it also; and others were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus and to Juno and Minerva, after all the objects in these temples which were supposed to have been placed there previously as dedications, or were actually dedications, had by decree been taken down at this time as defiled. Thus Cleopatra, though defeated and captured, was nevertheless glorified, inasmuch as her

[1] The custom was for the magistrates to issue from the city to meet the victorious general, and then to turn and march ahead of him. Octavius, by putting them behind him, symbolized his position as chief citizen of the state.

ἐδοξάσθη, ὅτι τά τε κοσμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἀνάκειται καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ χρυσῆ ὁρᾶται.

4 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ τοῦ ἡρῴου ὁσιώσει ἀγῶνές τε παντοδαποὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν Τροίαν εὐπατρίδαι παῖδες ἵππευσαν, ἄνδρες τε ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἐπί τε κελήτων καὶ ἐπὶ συνωρίδων ἐπί[1] τε τεθρίππων ἀντηγωνίσαντο, Κύιντός τέ τις Οὐιτέλλιος 5 βουλευτὴς ἐμονομάχησε. καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ἄλλα τε παμπληθῆ καὶ ῥινόκερως ἵππος τε ποτάμιος, πρῶτον τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὀφθέντα, ἐσφάγη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὁποῖός ἐστι, πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ πολὺ πλείοσιν ἑώραται· ὁ δὲ δὴ ῥινόκερως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐλέφαντί πῃ προσέοικε, κέρας δέ τι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥῖνα προσέχει, καὶ διὰ 6 τοῦτο οὕτω κέκληται. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἀθρόοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους Δακοί τε καὶ Σουῆβοι ἐμαχέσαντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν Κελτοί, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ Σκύθαι τρόπον τινά· καὶ οἱ μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου ὥς γε τἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ τῶν[2] Σουήβων ὀνόματος ἀντιποιοῦνται), οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ἴστρου νέμονται, 7 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τριβαλλικῇ οἰκοῦντες ἔς τε τὸν τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ ἐπιχωρίοις, ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέκληνται, εἴτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἴτε καὶ Θρᾷκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ ἐνοική- 8 σαντος ὄντες. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ Δακοὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα,

[1] ἐπί Polak, τῶν VM.

[2] τοῦ τῶν Pflugk, τούτων τῶν V, τούτων τοῦ M.

adornments repose as dedications in our temples and she herself is seen in gold in the shrine of Venus. B.C. 29

At the consecration of the shrine to Julius there were all kinds of contests, and the boys of the patricians performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy," and men of the same rank contended with chargers, with pairs, and with four-horse teams; furthermore, one Quintus Vitellius, a senator, fought as a gladiator. Wild beasts and tame animals were slain in vast numbers, among them a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus, beasts then seen for the first time in Rome. As regards the nature of the hippopotamus, it has been described by many and far more have seen it. The rhinoceros, on the other hand, is in general somewhat like an elephant, but it has also a horn on its very nose and has got its name because of this. These beasts, accordingly, were brought in, and moreover Dacians and Suebi fought in crowds with one another. The latter are Germans, the former Scythians of a sort. The Suebi, to be exact, dwell beyond the Rhine (though many people elsewhere claim their name), and the Dacians on both sides of the Ister; those of the latter, however, who live on this side of the river near the country of the Triballi are reckoned in with the district of Moesia and are called Moesians, except by those living in the immediate neighbourhood, while those on the other side are called Dacians and are either a branch of the Getae or Thracians belonging to the Dacian race that once inhabited Rhodope. Now these Dacians had before this time sent envoys to Caesar; but

ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον, ἀπέκλιναν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν μέγα ὠφέλησαν στασιάσαντες ἐν ἀλλήλοις, ἁλόντες δὲ ἐκ τούτου τινὲς ἔπειτα τοῖς Σουήβοις συνεβλήθησαν.

9 ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θεωρία ἅπασα ἐπὶ πολλάς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ διέλιπε[1] καίτοι[2] τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρρωστήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ δι' ἑτέρων ἐποιήθη. καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ μίαν τινὰ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν σφων προθύροις εἱστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἐς τοῦτο προαχθέντες· οὐ γὰρ παραδέδοται.

23 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τὸ τέταρτον ἔτι ὑπατεύοντος ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ Στατίλιος θέατρόν τι ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κυνηγετικὸν λίθινον καὶ ἐξεποίησε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν ὁπλομαχίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγὸν ἕνα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κατ' ἔτος αἱρεῖσθαι ἐλάμβανε.

2 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μᾶρκος ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθεὶς τοῖς τε Δακοῖς καὶ τοῖς[3] Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οἵτινές τέ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἐπο-

3 λεμώθησαν, εἴρηται· Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νενομίδαται, καὶ τότε τὸν Ἴστρον διαβάντες τήν τε Μυσίαν τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας σφῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτῇ ὄντας τούς τε Δαρδάνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ ἐκείνων οἰκοῦντας ἐχειρώσαντο. τέως μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν, οὐδέν σφισι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

[1] διέλιπε Bk., διέλειπε VM. [2] καίτοι M, καίτοι καὶ V.
[3] τοῖς supplied by Bk.

when they obtained none of their requests, they went over to Antony. They proved of no great assistance to him, however, owing to strife among themselves, and some who were afterwards captured were now matched against the Suebi. The whole spectacle lasted many days, as one would expect, and there was no interruption, even though Caesar fell ill, but it was carried on in his absence under the direction of others. On one of the days of this celebration the senators gave banquets in the vestibules of their several homes; but what the occasion was for their doing this, I do not know, since it is not recorded. B.C. 29

These were the events of those days. And while Caesar was still in his fourth consulship, Statilius Taurus both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with a gladiatorial combat a hunting-theatre of stone[1] in the Campus Martius. Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one of the praetors each year.

During the same period in which these events occurred Marcus Crassus was sent into Macedonia and Greece and carried on war with the Dacians and Bastarnae. I have already stated who the former were and why they had become hostile; the Bastarnae, on the other hand, who are properly classed as Scythians, had at this time crossed the Ister and subdued the part of Moesia opposite them, and afterwards subdued the Triballi who adjoin this district and the Dardani who inhabit the Triballian country. And as long as they were thus engaged, they had no trouble

[1] This was the first stone amphitheatre in Rome.

4 ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τόν τε Αἶμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην τὴν Δενθελητῶν ἔνσπονδον αὐτοῖς οὖσαν κατέδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μέν τι τῷ Σιτᾷ τῷ τῶν Δενθελητῶν βασιλεῖ τυφλῷ ὄντι ἀμύνων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ φοβηθεὶς ἀντεπῆλθέ σφισι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς προσόδου μόνης καταπλήξας ἐξέωσεν ἀμαχεὶ ἐκ 5 τῆς χώρας. κἀκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας[1] ἐπιδιώκων τήν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν Μυσίδα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τήν τε χώραν σφῶν ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τεῖχός τι καρτερὸν προσελάσας τοῖς μὲν προδρόμοις ἔπταισε (μόνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοὶ οἰηθέντες εἶναι ἐπέξοδον ἐποιήσαντο), προσβοηθήσας δέ σφισι παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ 24 προσεδρεύσας ἐξεῖλε. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ Κέδρῳ ποταμῷ κατέμειναν, περιορώμενοι τὰ γενησόμενα. ἐπειδή τε νικήσας τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ὥρμησε, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἀπαγορεύοντες αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν τοὺς 2 Ῥωμαίους ἠδικηκότες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος κατασχὼν ὡς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δώσων, τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ κατεμέθυσεν ὥστε πάντα τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκμαθεῖν· ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφορεῖται πᾶν τὸ Σκυθικὸν φῦλον οἴνου, καὶ ὑπερκορὲς αὐτοῦ ταχὺ 3 γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς ὕλην τινὰ προχωρήσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ αὐτῆς καταστήσας, ἀνέπαυσέ τε τὸ στράτευμα,

[1] V omits from here to πεζοὺς in chap. 26, 1, without indicating a lacuna.

with the Romans; but when they crossed Haemus B.C. 29 and overran the part of Thrace belonging to the Dentheleti, which was under treaty with the Romans, then Crassus, partly to defend Sitas, king of the Dentheleti, who was blind, but chiefly out of fear for Macedonia, went out to meet them. By his mere approach he threw them into a panic and drove them from the country without a battle. Next he pursued them as they were retiring homeward, gained possession of the region called Segetica, and invading Moesia, ravaged the country and made an assault upon one of the strongholds. Then, although his advance line met with a repulse when the Moesians, thinking it an isolated force, made a sortie, nevertheless, when he reinforced it with his whole remaining army, he hurled the enemy back and besieged and destroyed the place. While he was accomplishing this, the Bastarnae checked their flight and halted near the Cedrus [1] river to observe what would take place. And when, after conquering the Moesians, Crassus set out against them also, they sent envoys bidding him not to pursue them, since they had done the Romans no harm. Crassus detained the envoys, on the plea that he would give them their answer the following day, treated them kindly in various ways, and made them drunk, so that he learned all their plans; for the whole Scythian race is insatiable in the use of wine and quickly becomes sodden with it. Meanwhile Crassus moved forward into a forest during the night, stationed scouts in front of it, and halted his army

[1] The spelling is uncertain; the forms Cebrus, Cibrus, and Ciabrus are also found. Now the Tzibritza.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Βασταρνῶν μόνους τε ἐκείνους εἶναι νομισάντων καὶ ἐπιδραμόντων σφίσιν, ἔς τε τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθησάντων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ
4 φυγόντας ἔφθειρεν· ὑπό τε γὰρ τῶν ἁμαξῶν κατόπιν αὐτοῖς οὐσῶν ἐνεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τάς τε γυναῖκας σῶσαι ἐθελήσαντες ἔπταισαν. καὶ τόν γε βασιλέα αὐτῶν Δέλδωνα αὐτὸς ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε· κἂν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Διὶ ὡς καὶ ὀπῖμα ἀνέθηκεν, εἴπερ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς ἐγεγόνει.
5 ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς ἄλσος τι καταφυγόντες περιεπρήσθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τεῖχός τι ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐξῃρέθησαν. ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον ἐμπεσόντες, ἄλλοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν
6 σκεδασθέντες ἐφθάρησαν. περιλειφθέντων δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς τινων, καὶ χωρίον ἰσχυρὸν καταλαβόντων, ἡμέρας μέν τινας μάτην σφίσιν ὁ Κράσσος προσήδρευσεν, ἔπειτα Ῥώλου οἱ Γετῶν τινων
7 βασιλέως ἐπικουρήσαντος ἐξεῖλεν αὐτούς. καὶ ὅ τε Ῥώλης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθὼν φίλος τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομίσθη, καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τοῖς στρατιώταις διεδόθησαν.

25 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθων τινὰς τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐπιπόνως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικινδύνως κατεστρέ-
2 ψατο. καὶ τότε μέν (χειμὼν γὰρ ἦν) ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους

there. Then, when the Bastarnae, in the belief that the scouts were all alone, rushed to attack them and pursued them as they retreated into the thick of the forest, he destroyed many of them on the spot and many others in the rout which followed. For not only were they hindered by their waggons, which were in their rear, but their desire to save their wives and children was also instrumental in their defeat. Crassus himself slew their king Deldo and would have dedicated his armour as *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius had he been general in supreme command. Such was the nature of this engagement. As for the remainder of the Bastarnae, some perished by taking refuge in a grove, which was then set on fire on all sides, and others by rushing into a fort, in which they were annihilated; still others were destroyed by leaping into the Ister, or as they were scattered here and there through the country. But some survived even so and seized a strong position, where Crassus besieged them in vain for several days. Then with the aid of Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae, he destroyed them. Now Roles, when he visited Caesar, was treated as his friend and ally because of this service; and the captives were distributed among the soldiers.

B.C. 29

After accomplishing this task Crassus turned his attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuasion in some cases, partly by terrifying them, partly also by applying force, he subdued all except a very few, though only after great hardships and dangers. And for the time being, since it was winter, he retired into friendly territory, after suffering greatly from

πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, δι' ὧν ὡς φίλων ἐπανῄει, παθών· ὅθενπερ γνώμην ἔσχεν ἀρκεσθῆναι τοῖς κατειργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὥς γέ τινές φασιν, ἔλαβεν, 3 ἀλλ' ὁ Καῖσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ μηκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατεύσειν σφίσι πυθόμενοι, πρός τε τοὺς Δενθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν αὖθις ὡς καὶ αἰτιώτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν γεγονότα ἐτράποντο, οὕτω καὶ ἄκων ἐξανέστη, καὶ σπουδῇ χωρήσας ἀνέλπιστός τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπονδὰς ὁποίας ἠθέλησεν 4 ἔδωκεν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ τῶν ὅπλων αὖθις ἥψατο, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Θρᾷκας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυπήσαντας αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρία τε ἐντειχιζόμενοι καὶ πολεμησείοντες ἠγγέλλοντο. καί σφων Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδοὺς μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἀποτέμνων, οὐκ ἀπόνως μέν, ἐχειρώσατο δ' οὖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλὴν τῆς τῶν 5 Ὀδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ, ὅτι τῷ τε Διονύσῳ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντησάν οἱ, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο, Βησσοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος.

26 Πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὁ Ῥώλης Δάπυγι Γετῶν τινων καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ πολεμωθεὶς μετε-

the cold and much more still at the hands of the Thracians, through whose country he was returning in the belief that it was friendly. Hence he decided to be content with what he had already accomplished. For sacrifices and a triumph had been voted, not only to Caesar, but to him also; nevertheless, he did not receive the title of *imperator*, as some report, but Caesar alone assumed it. The Bastarnae, now, angered at their disasters and learning that he would make no further campaigns against them, turned again upon the Dentheleti and Sitas, whom they regarded as having been the chief cause of their evils. Thus it came about that Crassus reluctantly took the field; and falling upon them unexpectedly after advancing by forced marches, he conquered them and imposed such terms of peace as he pleased. And now that he had once taken up arms again, he conceived a desire to punish the Thracians who had harassed him during his return from Moesia; for it was reported at this time that they were fortifying positions and were eager for war. He succeeded in subduing some of them, namely the Maedi and the Serdi, though not without difficulty, by conquering them in battle and cutting off the hands of the captives; and he overran the rest of the country except the territory of the Odrysae. These he spared because they are attached to the service of Dionysus, and had come to meet him on this occasion without their arms; and he also granted them the land in which they magnify the god, taking it away from the Bessi who were occupying it.

B.C. 29

While he was thus engaged, Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also king of

πέμψατο. καὶ ὃς ἐπικουρήσας οἱ τήν τε ἵππον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐσήραξε, καὶ συμφοβήσας ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐποιήσατο, φόνον δὲ δὴ φευγόντων 2 *ἑκατέρων πολὺν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Δάπυγα πρὸς φρούριόν τι καταφυγόντα ἀπολαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει· κἂν τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἑλληνιστί τις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσπασάμενος ἔς τε λόγους οἱ ἦλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνέθετο. ἁλισκόμενοι οὖν οὕτως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὥρμησαν, καὶ ὅ τε Δάπυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τὸν μέντοι ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ζωγρήσας ὁ Κράσσος οὐχ ὅτι τι*[1] *κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφῆκε.*

3 Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὴν Κεῖριν *καλουμένην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἐχυρώτατον οὕτως ὂν ὡς καὶ τοὺς* Τιτᾶνας *ἐς αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δή σφισι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύεσθαι, καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πλήθει πολλῷ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ* 4 *πάσας ἐσεκομίσαντο. ὁ οὖν* Κράσσος *τά τε στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολιὰ καὶ δυσδιερεύνητα ὄντα ἀναζητήσας ἀπῳκοδόμησε, κἀκ τούτου κἀκείνους λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων* Γετῶν, *καίπερ* 5 *μηδὲν τῷ* Δάπυγι *προσηκόντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ* Γένουκλα *τὸ εὐερκέστατον τῆς* Ζυράξου *ἀρχῆς τεῖχος ἦλθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα, ἃ τοῦ* Ἀντωνίου *τοῦ* Γαΐου *οἱ* Βαστάρναι *πρὸς τῇ τῶν* Ἰστριανῶν[2] *πόλει ἀφῄρηντο, ἐνταῦθα ἤκουεν ὄντα· καὶ αὐτὸ*

[1] τι M, om. V. [2] Ἰστριανῶν Leuncl., ἰστράνων VM.

a tribe of the Getae, sent for him. Crassus went to his aid, and by hurling the horse of his opponents back upon their infantry he so thoroughly terrified the latter also that what followed was no longer a battle but a great slaughter of fleeing men of both arms. Next he cut off Dapyx, who had taken refuge in a fort, and besieged him. In the course of the siege someone hailed him from the walls in Greek, obtained a conference with him, and arranged to betray the place. The barbarians, thus captured, turned upon one another, and Dapyx was killed along with many others. His brother, however, Crassus took alive, and not only did him no harm but actually released him.

B.C. 29

After finishing this campaign Crassus led his troops against the cave called Ciris. For the natives in great numbers had occupied this cave, which is extremely large and so capable of defence that the tradition obtains that the Titans took refuge there after their defeat suffered at the hands of the gods; and here they had brought together all their herds and their other most cherished belongings. Crassus first sought out all the entrances to the cave, which are tortuous and difficult to discover, walled them up, and in this way subdued the men by famine. After this success he did not leave in peace the rest of the Getae, either, even though they had no connexion with Dapyx, but he marched upon Genucla, the most strongly defended fortress of the kingdom of Zyraxes, because he heard that the standards which the Bastarnae had taken from Gaius Antonius[1] near the city of the Istrians were there. His assault was made both by

[1] Cf. xxxviii. 10.

πεζῇ τε ἅμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἴστρου (πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ὕδατι ἐπεπόλιστο) προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, σὺν πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πόνῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Ζυράξου 6 *μὴ παρόντος, εἷλεν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοῦ ᾔσθετο, πρός τε τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπῆρε, καὶ οὐκ ἔφθη ἀνακομισθείς.*

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ἔπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάντας δι' 27 *ἑτέρων ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινας οὔθ' ἁλόντας ποτὲ οὔτ' αὖ προσχωρῆσαί οἱ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτούς τε μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργήν τε ἅμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτός τ' ἐπεστράτευσε, καί σφας τὰ μὲν βίᾳ, δράσαντας οὐκ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἁλισκομένων προσηγάγετο.*

2 *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χρόνῳ ἐγένετο, γράφω δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ὥς που παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοί τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Αἵμου καὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου οὖσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα* 3 *τινὲς αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὄνομα πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ Σάουος ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπέρ τε τῆς Δελματίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θρᾴκης, ἀπὸ τῆς Παννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοί ποτε προσαγορευθέντες, οἵ τε Δαρδάνιοι καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλούμενοι.*

land and from the Ister (the city is built upon the river), and in a short time, though with much toil, despite the absence of Zyraxes, he took the place. The king, it seems, as soon as he heard of the Romans' approach, had set off with money to the Scythians to seek an alliance, and had not returned in time. B.C. 29

These were his achievements among the Getae. And when some of the Moesians who had been subdued rose in revolt, he won them back by the aid of lieutenants, while he himself made a campaign against the Artacii and a few other tribes who had never been captured and would not acknowledge his authority, priding themselves greatly upon this point and at the same time inspiring in the others both anger and a disposition to rebel. He brought them to terms, partly by force, after they had made no little trouble, and partly by fear for their countrymen who were being captured.

All these operations took a long time; but the facts I record, as well as the names, are in accordance with the tradition which has been handed down. In ancient times, it is true, Moesians and Getae occupied all the land between Haemus and the Ister; but as time went on some of them changed their names, and since then there have been included under the name of Moesia all the tribes living above Dalmatia, Macedonia, and Thrace, and separated from Pannonia by the Savus, a tributary of the Ister. Two of the many tribes found among them are those formerly called the Triballi, and the Dardani, who still retain their old name.

BOOK LII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν·

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐβουλεύσατο τὴν μοναρχίαν ἀφεῖναι.
β. Ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ καλεῖσθαι ἤρξατο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ ε′ καὶ[1] Σέξτου Ἀπουλείου ὑπατείας.[2]

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔν τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὖθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τά τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. 2 ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετά τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικήνου (τούτοις γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκοίνου), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρότερος εἶπε τοιάδε·

2 "Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Καῖσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀποτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἂν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς σοῦ γε αὐτὴν ἔχοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὠφέλιμος γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πάνυ ἂν αὐτὴν ἐσπούδασα· 2 ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὅμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ

[1] καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
[2] ἀπουλείου ὑπατείας M, om. V.

BOOK LII

The following is contained in the Fifty-second of Dio's *Rome* :—

How Caesar planned to lay aside his sovereignty (chaps. 1–40).

How he began to be called emperor (chap. 42).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (V) and Sextus Apuleius. (B.C. 29.)

B.C. 29

Such were the achievements of the Romans and such their sufferings under the kingship, under the republic, and under the dominion of a few, during a period of seven hundred and twenty-five years. After this they reverted to what was, strictly speaking, a monarchy, although Caesar planned to lay down his arms and to entrust the management of the state to the senate and the people. He made his decision, however, in consultation with Agrippa and Maecenas, to whom he was wont to communicate all his secret plans; and Agrippa, taking the lead, spoke as follows:

"Be not surprised, Caesar, if I shall try to turn your thoughts away from monarchy, even though I should derive many advantages from it, at least if it was you who held the position. For if it were to be profitable to you also, I should advocate it most earnestly; but since the privileges of a monarchy

τοῖς φίλοις σφῶν παρέχεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως πάνθ' ὅσα ἐθέλουσι καρποῦνται, τοῖς δὲ καὶ φθόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι συμβαίνουσιν, οὐ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἴδιον, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν τό τε κοινὸν προϊδέσθαι ἐδικαίωσα.

3 "Σκεψώμεθα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ὁ λογισμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ τραπώμεθα· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου φήσει τις δεῖν ἡμᾶς ἑλέσθαι 4 αὐτήν, κἂν μὴ λυσιτελοῦσα ᾖ. εἰ δὲ μή, δόξομεν[1] ἤτοι τῆς τε εὐπραγίας ἡττῆσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐκπεφρονηκέναι, ἢ καὶ πάλαι αὐτῆς ἐφιέμενοι τόν[2] τε πατέρα καὶ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐσκῆφθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον τήν τε γερουσίαν προβεβλῆσθαι, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἀπαλλάξωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα 5 ἑαυτοῖς δουλωσώμεθα. ἑκάτερον δὲ ὑπαίτιον. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν[3] ἀγανακτήσειεν ἄλλα μὲν ὁρῶν ἡμὰς εἰρηκότας, ἄλλα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος πεφρονηκότας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον νῦν μισήσειεν ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τήν τε ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπεγυμνώσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἄντικρυς 6 ὡρμήσαμεν; τὸ μὲν γὰρ βίαιόν τι τολμᾶν προσήκειν πως τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει, κἂν πλεονεκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ, πεπίστευται· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ προφέρων ἔν τινι πλέον ἀξιοῖ τοῦ καταδεεστέρου ἔχειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τέ τι ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς[4]

[1] δόξομεν R. Steph., δόξωμεν VM.
[2] τὸν M, τὸ V.
[3] ἂν supplied by St.
[4] ψυχῆς Rk., τύχης VM.

are by no means the same for the rulers as for their friends, but, on the contrary, jealousies and dangers fall to the lot of the rulers while their friends reap, without incurring either jealousies or dangers, all the benefits they can wish for, I have thought it right, in this question as in all others, to have regard, not for my own interests, but for yours and the state's. B.C. 29

"Let us consider, now, at our leisure all the characteristics of this system of government and then shape our course in whichever direction our reasoning may lead us. For surely no one will assert that we are obliged to choose monarchy in any and all circumstances, even if it be not profitable. If we choose it, people will think that we have fallen victims to our own good fortune and have been bereft of our senses by our successes, or else that we have been aiming at sovereignty all the while, making of our appeals to your father and of our devotion to his memory a mere pretext and using the people and the senate as a cloak, with the purpose, not of freeing these latter from those who plotted against them, but of making them slaves to ourselves. And either explanation involves censure for us. For who could help being indignant when he finds that we have said one thing and then discovers that we have meant another? Would he not hate us much more now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and set out directly for the monarchy? To be sure, men have come to believe that it somehow is an attribute of human nature, however selfish that may seem, to resort to deeds of violence; for every one who excels in any respect thinks it right that he should have more than his inferior, and if he meets with any success, he ascribes his success to the force

ἰσχὺν ἀναφέρεται, καὶ διαμαρτών τινος τῇ τοῦ
7 δαιμονίου φορᾷ προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς
καὶ κακουργίας τοιοῦτό τι ποιῶν πρῶτον μὲν
δολερὸς καὶ σκολιὸς καὶ κακοήθης καὶ κακό-
τροπος εἶναι νομίζεται, ἅπερ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι περὶ
σοῦ οὐδένα ἂν ὑπομείνειας εἰπεῖν ἢ φρονῆσαι,
οὐδ' εἰ πάσης ἐκ τούτου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξειας·
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κατορθώσας ἄδικον τὴν πλεονεξίαν
πεποιῆσθαι καὶ σφαλεὶς δικαίαν τὴν κακοπραγίαν
3 εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος,
οὐδὲν ἂν ἧττον ἐπικαλέσειέ τις ἡμῖν καὶ εἰ μηδὲν
τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἔπειτα νῦν
ἐπιθυμήσαιμεν αὐτοῦ. τὸ γάρ τοι τῶν τε παρόν-
των νικᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἑαυτοὺς κατέχειν τοῖς τε
παρὰ τῆς τύχης δοθεῖσι μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι πολὺ
2 χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐκ κακοπραγίας ἀδικεῖν τινα· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις
ἀναγκάζονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντός σφισι
χρείαν καὶ ἄκοντες πλημμελεῖν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ
ἀκράτορες ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν γί-
γνονται. τοὺς δὲ δὴ μήθ' ἁπλότητά τινα ἐν τῇ
ψυχῇ ἔχοντας μήτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ
μετριάσαι δυναμένους πῶς ἄν τις προσδοκήσειεν
ἤτοι τῶν ἄλλων καλῶς ἡγεμονεύσειν ἢ ταῖς
3 συμφοραῖς ὀρθῶς χρήσεσθαι; ὡς οὖν μηδέτερον
αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, μηδ' ἀλόγως τι πρᾶξαι ἐπι-
θυμοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν βουλευσαμένοις ἡμῖν
ἄριστον φανῇ τοῦθ' αἱρησόμενοι, τὴν διάγνωσιν

of his own intelligence, whereas if he fails, he lays the blame for his failure upon the influence of the divine will. But, on the other hand, the man who, in following such a course, resorts to plotting and villainy, is, in the first place, held to be crafty and crooked, malicious, and depraved,—an opinion which I know you would not allow anyone to express or to entertain about you, even if you might rule the whole world by such practices; and, in the second place, if he succeeds, men think that the advantage he has gained is unjust, or if he fails, that his discomfiture is merited. This being the case, men would reproach us quite as much if we should now, after the event, begin to covet that advantage, even though we harboured no such intention at the outset. For surely it is much worse for men to let circumstances get the better of them and not only to fail to hold themselves in check but to abuse the gifts of Fortune, than to wrong others in consequence of failure. For men who have failed are often compelled by their very misfortunes to commit wrongs even against their will in order to meet the demands of their own interests, whereas the others voluntarily abandon their self-control even when it is unprofitable to do so. And when men have no straightforwardness in their souls, and are incapable of moderation in dealing with the blessings bestowed upon them, how could one expect them either to rule well over others or to conduct themselves properly in adversity? In the conviction, therefore, that we are guilty of neither of these shortcomings, and that we have no desire to act irrationally, but that we shall choose whatever course shall appear to us after deliberation to be best, let us proceed to make our decision

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αὐτοῦ ποιησώμεθα. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλως ἄν τι εἰπεῖν δυναίμην, οὔτε σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδῆ μετὰ κολακείας ἡδέως ἀκούοντι.

4 "Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἰσονομία τό τε πρόσρημα εὐώνυμον καὶ τὸ ἔργον δικαιότατον ἔχει. τήν τε γὰρ φύσιν τὴν αὐτήν τινας εἰληχότας καὶ ὁμοφύλους ἀλλήλοις ὄντας, ἔν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἤθεσι τεθραμμένους καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις πεπαι-2 δευμένους, καὶ κοινὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν χρῆσιν τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας, πῶς μὲν οὐ δίκαιον καὶ τἆλλα πάντα κοινοῦσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄριστον ἐν μηδενὶ πλὴν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς 3 προτιμᾶσθαι; ἥ τε γὰρ ἰσογονία ἰσομοιρίας ὀριγνᾶται, καὶ τυχοῦσα μὲν αὐτῆς χαίρει, διαμαρτοῦσα δὲ ἄχθεται· καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον πᾶν, ἅτε ἔκ τε θεῶν γεγονὸς καὶ ἐς θεοὺς ἀφῆξον, ἄνω βλέπει, καὶ οὔτε ἐθέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς 4 ἄρχεσθαι, οὔθ' ὑπομένει τῶν μὲν πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων τῶν τε δαπανημάτων μετέχον, τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τῶν κρειττόνων στερόμενον, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀναγκασθῇ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποστῆναι, μισεῖ τὸ βεβιασμένον, κἂν καιροῦ λάβηται, τιμωρεῖται τὸ 5 μεμισημένον. ἄρχειν τε γὰρ πάντες ἀξιοῦσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ μέρει ὑπομένουσι· καὶ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀναγκάζονται. ταῖς τε τιμαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων χαίρουσι, καὶ 6 τὰς τιμωρίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐπαινοῦσι. κἂν οὕτω πολιτεύωνται, κοινὰ [1] μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ κοινὰ

[1] κοινὰ Rk., καὶ κοινὰ VM.

accordingly. I shall speak quite frankly, for I could not, for my part, speak otherwise, and I know you too well to think that you like to listen to falsehood mingled with flattery. B.C. 29

"Equality before the law has an auspicious name and is most just in its workings. For in the case of men who are endowed with the same nature, are of the same race with one another, have been brought up under the same institutions, have been trained in laws that are alike, and yield in an equal degree the service of their bodies and of their minds to their country, is it not just that they should have an equal share in all other things also, and is it not best that they should secure no distinctions except as the result of excellence? For equality of birth demands equality of privilege, and if it attains this object, it is glad, but if it fails, it is displeased. And the human race everywhere, sprung as it is from the gods and destined to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person, nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, and the expenditures and yet be deprived of partnership in the better things. Or, if it is forced to submit to anything of the sort, it hates the power which has applied coercion, and if it obtains an opportunity, takes vengeance upon what it hates. All men, of course, claim the right to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn; they are unwilling to have others overreach them, and therefore are not obliged, on their part, to overreach others. They are pleased with the honours bestowed upon them by their equals, and approve of the penalties inflicted upon them by the laws. Now if they live under this kind of polity and regard the blessings and also the

δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὔτε τι κακὸν οὐδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν γίγνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ κρείττω πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς συνεύχονται. 7 καὶ ἄν τε τις αὐτὸς ἀρετήν τινα ἔχῃ, καὶ προφαίνει αὐτὴν προχείρως καὶ ἀσκεῖ προθύμως καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἀσμενέστατα, ἄν τε καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἴδῃ, καὶ προάγει ἑτοίμως καὶ συναύξει σπουδαίως 8 καὶ τιμᾷ λαμπρότατα. καὶ μέντοι κἂν κακύνηταί τις, πᾶς αὐτὸν μισεῖ, κἂν δυστυχῇ, πᾶς ἐλεεῖ, κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν ζημίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζων.

5 "Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τῶν δήμων κατάστασις, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς τυραννίσι πάντα τἀναντία συμβαίνει. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν λέγοντα; τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἰδέναι οὔτ' ἔχειν δοκεῖν βούλεται (πολέμιον γὰρ αὐτῷ πᾶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ κρατοῦν ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται), 2 τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου τις τρόπον κανόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενος, ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐλπίσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ πλεονεκτήσας ἀκινδύνως κερδανεῖν, μετέρχεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ πλείους σφῶν τό τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς[1] μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους μισοῦσι, τάς τε εὐπραγίας αὐτῶν οἰκείας ζημίας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς ἴδια κέρδη ποιούμενοι.

3 "Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων οὐχ ὁρῶ τί ποτ' ἂν εἰκότως ἐπάρειέ σε μοναρχῆσαι ἐπιθυμῆσαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοῖς δήμοις χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα, πολὺ δυσχερέστερον αὐτῷ σοι γένοιτο ἄν.

[1] At this point a quaternion (containing the chapters down to 20, 4) is missing from M. L′, the copy of M, here becomes of importance, since the scribe filled the lacuna in M from L, which was then complete. See vol. i. p. xxv.

opposite as belonging to all alike, they not only wish no harm to befall any one of the citizens, but devoutly hope that nothing but prosperity will fall to the lot of each and all. And if one of them possesses any excellence himself, he readily makes it known, practises it enthusiastically, and exhibits it most joyfully; or if he sees it in another, he readily brings it to the light, eagerly takes part in increasing it, and bestows the most splendid honours upon it. On the other hand, if any one shows himself base, everybody hates him, and if any one meets with misfortune, everybody pities him; for each person regards the loss and the disgrace that arise therefrom as shared in by the whole state.

B.C. 29

"This is the character of democracies. Under tyrannies exactly the opposite conditions are found. But why go into all the details at length? The chief thing is that no one is willing to be thought to have any superior knowledge or possession, because the dominant power generally becomes wholly hostile to him on account of such superiority; on the contrary, every one makes the tyrant's character his own standard of life and pursues whatever objects he may hope to gain through him by overreaching others without personal risk. Consequently, the majority of the people are devoted only to their own interests and hate all their neighbours, regarding the others' successes as their own losses and the others' misfortunes as their own gains.

"Such being the state of the case, I do not see what motive could reasonably induce you to desire to become sole ruler. For that system, besides being difficult to apply to democracies, would be vastly more difficult still for you yourself to put into effect.

ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἥ τε πόλις καὶ τὰ πράγματα
4 αὐτῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ταράττεται; καὶ χαλεπὸν μέν ἐστι τὸ τὸν ὅμιλον ἡμῶν, τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ βεβιωκότα, καταλῦσαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τούς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἠλευθερωμένους, ἐς δουλείαν αὖθις καταστῆσαι, τοσούτων πέριξ πολεμίων ἡμῖν προσκειμένων.

6 "Καὶ ἵνα γε ἀπὸ πρώτου τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἄρξωμαι, χρήματά σοι πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται πορίζειν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὰς νῦν οὔσας προσόδους πρός τε τἆλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τροφὴν ἐξαρκέσαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε
2 πολιτείαν τινὰ ἄνευ δαπάνης συστῆναι. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἐκείναις μάλιστα μὲν ἑκόντες πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδιδόασιν, ἐν φιλοτιμίας μέρει τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιούμενοι καὶ τιμὰς ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀξίας ἀντιλαμβάνοντες· ἂν δέ που καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι παρὰ πάντων ἐσφοραὶ γένωνται, ἑαυτούς τε[1] πείθοντες
3 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν συντελοῦντες ἀνέχονται. ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δυναστείαις τό τε ἄρχον πάντες μόνον ὡς καὶ ὑπερπλουτοῦν ἀξιοῦσι δαπανᾶσθαι, τὰς μὲν προσόδους αὐτοῦ ἑτοίμως ἐξερευνώμενοι, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι· καὶ οὔτ' ἰδίᾳ ἡδέως ἢ καὶ ἑκόντες ἐπιδιδόασί τι, οὔτε τὰς

[1] τε R. Steph., γε VL'.

Or do you not see how the city and its affairs are even now in a state of turmoil? It is difficult, also, to overthrow our populace, which has lived for so many years in freedom, and difficult, when so many enemies beset us round about, to reduce again to slavery the allies and subject nations, some of which have had a democratic government from of old, while others of them have been set free by us ourselves. B.C. 29

"To begin first with the least important consideration, it will be necessary that you procure a large supply of money from all sides; for it is impossible that our present revenues should suffice for the support of the troops, not to speak of the other expenses. Now this need of funds, to be sure, exists in democracies also, since it is not possible for any government to continue without expense. But in democracies many citizens make large contributions, preferably of their own free will, in addition to what is required of them, making it a matter of patriotic emulation and securing appropriate honours in return for their liberality; or, if perchance compulsory levies are also made upon the whole body of citizens, they submit to it both because it is done with their own consent and because the contributions they make are in their own interests. In monarchical governments, on the other hand, the citizens all think that the ruling power alone, to which they credit boundless wealth, should bear the expense; for they are very ready to search out the ruler's sources of income, but do not reckon his expenses so carefully; and so they make no contributions from their private means gladly or of their own free will, nor are the public levies they make

4 κοινὰς συντελείας αὐθαιρέτους ποιοῦνται. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐθελήσειέ τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁμολογήσειεν ἂν ῥᾳδίως πλουτεῖν) οὔτε συμφέρει τῷ κρατοῦντι γίγνεσθαι· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἂν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων ὀγκωθείη καὶ νεωτερίσειε. τὸ δ' ἕτερον πάνυ τοὺς πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν μὲν ζημίαν αὐτοὶ ὑπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κέρδος ἕτεροι
5 λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ στρατεύονται ὡς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσφέροντες, ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ αὖθις αὐτὰ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημιουργοῦσι καὶ ναυτίλλονται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ὧνπερ καὶ αἱ λήψεις μάλιστα γίγνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν.

7 "Ἓν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοιοῦτον ὂν πράγματά σοι παρέξει, ἕτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο. πάντως μέν τινα δεῖ δίκην τὸν ἀεὶ κακουργοῦντα διδόναι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ νουθεσίας οὔτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ σωφρονίζονται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ φυγῇ καὶ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, οἷα ἔν τε ἀρχῇ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ἐν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τοσούτῳ,[1] ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ πολιτείας,
2 φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις[2] δ' ἂν μὲν ἑτέρους δικαστὰς καθίζῃς, ἀπολύοιντό τε ἂν διασπευδόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσους ἂν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῇς· καὶ γὰρ προσποίησίν τινα ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ
3 κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι· κἂν ἄρα τινὲς ἁλίσκωνται,[3]

[1] τοσούτῳ St., τοσούτων VL'. [2] τούτοις Xyl., τούτους VL'.
[3] ἁλίσκωνται R. Steph., ἁλίσκονται VL'.

voted of their own free choice. As for the voluntary contributions, no citizen would feel free to make one, any more than he would readily admit that he was rich, and it is not to the advantage of the ruler that he should, for immediately he would acquire a reputation for patriotism among the masses, become conceited, and incite a rebellion. On the other hand, a general levy weighs heavily upon the masses, the more so because they suffer the loss while the others reap the gain. Now in democracies those who contribute the money as a general rule also serve in the army, so that in a way they get their money back again; but in monarchies one set of people usually engages in agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and politics,—and these are the classes from which the state's receipts are chiefly derived,—and a different set is under arms and draws pay. B.C. 29

"This single circumstance, then, which is as I have described it, will cause you trouble. But here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. For the majority of men are not brought to reason by admonition or by example, but it is absolutely necessary to punish them by disfranchisement, by exile, or by death; and such punishments are often administered in an empire as large as this is and in a population as great as ours, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would vie with each other in acquitting the accused, and particularly all whom you might be thought to hate; for judges, you know, gain an appearance of authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruler. And if an

διὰ σὲ δόξουσιν ἐκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι. ἂν δ' αὐτὸς δικάζῃς, πολλοὺς ἀναγκασθήσῃ καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάζειν (τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχές), καὶ πάντως τινὰς αὐτῶν ὀργῇ 4 *μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιώσει δόξεις*[1] *εὐθύνειν· τοὺς γὰρ βιάζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐδεὶς δικάζοντας δικαιοπραγεῖν πιστεύει, ἀλλ' οἴονται πάντες αὐτοὺς σχῆμα καὶ σκιαγραφίαν πολιτείας αἰσχύνῃ πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας προπεταννύντας, ὀνόματι ἐννόμῳ*[2] *δικαστηρίου τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποπιμπλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦθ' οὕτω* 5 *γίγνεται· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἄν τ' ἰδίᾳ τις ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν λάβῃ, ἰδίαν δίκην παρὰ δικασταῖς ἴσοις φεύγει, ἄν τε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἐκείνῳ δικασταὶ καθίζουσιν*[3] *ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων οὓς ἂν*[4] *ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, ὥστε ῥᾷον τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μήτ' ἰσχύι δικαστοῦ μήτε χάριτι ἀναγκαστῇ*[5] *νομίζοντάς τι πεπονθέναι.*

8 "*Ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ χωρὶς τῶν τι ἀδικούντων, οἱ μὲν γένει, οἱ δὲ πλούτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ κακοὶ ἄνδρες, τῇ δὲ δὴ προαιρέσει τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίοι φύονται· καὶ αὐτοὺς οὔτ' αὔξεσθαί τις ἐῶν ἀσφαλῶς δύναται ζῆν, οὔτ' αὖ κολούειν ἐπιχειρῶν δικαίως*

[1] *δόξεις* L', *δόξῃς* V. [2] *ἐννόμῳ* Naber, *ἐννόμου* VL'.
[3] *καθίζουσιν* Rk., *καθίζωσιν* VL'.
[4] *οὓς ἂν* Xyl., *οὖσαν* VL'.
[5] *ἀναγκαστῇ* L', *ἀναγκασθῇ* V.

occasional criminal is in fact convicted, it will be thought that he has been condemned deliberately, in order to please you. But if, on the other hand, you sit in judgment yourself, you will be obliged to punish many also of your peers—an unfortunate situation—and you will certainly be thought to be calling some of them to account through resentment rather than through a sense of justice. For no one believes that those who have the power to use compulsion are acting honestly when they give judgment, but all men think they are led by a sense of shame to spread out before the truth a mere semblance and illusive picture of a constitutional government, and under the legal name of a court of justice are but satisfying their own desires. This, then, is what happens in monarchies. In democracies, on the other hand, when any one is accused of committing a private wrong, he is made defendant in a private suit before a jury of his equals; or, if he is accused of a public crime, in his case also a jury of his peers, men whom the lot shall designate, sits in judgment. It is therefore easier for men to bear the decisions which proceed from such juries, since they think that any penalty dealt out to them has been inflicted neither by a judge's power nor as a favour which a judge has been forced to grant.

B.C. 29

"Then again, apart from those who are guilty of wrongdoing, there are many men who pride themselves, some on their birth, others on their wealth, and still others on something else, who, though in general not bad men, are yet by nature opposed to the principle of monarchy. If a ruler allows these men to become strong, he cannot live in safety, and if, on the other hand, he undertakes to impose a

2 τοῦτο ποιεῖν. τί ποτ' οὖν τούτοις χρήσῃ; πῶς αὐτοὺς μεταχειρίσῃ; ἂν μὲν γὰρ τά τε γένη σφῶν καθέλῃς καὶ τοὺς πλούτους ἐλαττώσῃς τά τε φρονήματα ταπεινώσῃς, οὐδεμίαν ἂν εὔνοιαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων λάβοις· πῶς γάρ, εἰ μήτε γεννηθῆναί τῳ καλῶς μήτε πλουτῆσαι δικαίως, μήτ' ἰσχυρῷ μήτ' ἀνδρείῳ μήτε συνετῷ γενέσθαι ἐξείη;
3 ἂν δὲ ἐάσῃς ταῦθ' ὡς ἕκαστα αὔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως αὐτὰ διάθοιο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ αὐτὸς μόνος πρός τε τὸ[1] τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὰ πολεμικὰ καλῶς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττειν ἐξήρκεις, καὶ μηδενὸς συνεργοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἔχρῃζες,
4 ἕτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος· νῦν δὲ πᾶσά σε ἀνάγκη συναγωνιστὰς πολλούς, ἅτε τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἄρχοντα,[2] ἔχειν, καὶ προσήκει που πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνδρείους καὶ φρονίμους εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἂν μὲν τοιούτοις τισὶ τά τε στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐγχειρίζῃς, κίνδυνος ἔσται καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ
5 πολιτείᾳ καταλυθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἄνευ φρονήματος ἀξιόλογον ἄνδρα φῦναι, οὔτ' αὖ φρόνημα μέγα λαβεῖν ἐκ δουλοπρεποῦς ἐπιτηδεύσεως, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φρονηματίαν γενόμενον μὴ οὐκ ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ πᾶν τὸ δε-
6 σπόζον μισῆσαι. ἂν δὲ δὴ τούτοις μὲν μηδὲν ἐπιτρέπῃς, τοῖς δὲ δὴ φαύλοις καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τὰ πράγματα προστάσσῃς, τάχιστα μὲν ἂν ὀργὴν παρ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἀπιστουμένων λάβοις, τάχιστα
7 δ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις πταίσειας. τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἀμαθὴς ἢ ἀγεννὴς[3] ἄνθρωπος ἐργάσαιτο; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καταφρονήσειεν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμίων;

[1] τὸ supplied by Bs. [2] ἄρχοντα Leuncl., ἄρχοντας VL'.
[3] ἀγεννὴς V, ἀγενὴς L'.

check on them, he cannot do so justly. What, then, will you do with them? How will you deal with them? If you root out their families, diminish their wealth, and humble their pride, you will not have the good-will of your subjects. How could you have it, if no one is permitted to be born to noble rank, or to grow rich honestly, or to become strong or brave or intelligent? Yet if you allow these various classes to grow strong, you will not be able to deal with them easily. True, if you alone were equal to carrying on the business of the state and the business of warfare successfully and in a manner to meet the demands of each situation, and needed no assistant for any of these matters, it would be a different matter. As the case stands, however, since you would be governing this vast world, it would be quite essential for you to have many helpers; and of course they ought all to be both brave and high-spirited. Now if you hand over the legions and the offices to men of such parts, there will be danger that both you and your government will be overthrown. For it is not possible either for a man of any real worth to be naturally lacking in spirit, or on the other hand for a man sprung from a servile sphere of life to acquire a proud spirit; nor, again, if he proves himself a man of spirit, can he fail to desire liberty and to hate all mastery. If, on the other hand, you entrust nothing to these men, but put affairs in charge of common men of indifferent origin, you will very soon incur the resentment of the first class, who will think themselves distrusted, and you will very soon fail in the greatest enterprises. For what good thing could an ignorant or low-born person accomplish? Who of our enemies would not hold him in con-

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τίς δ' ἂν πειθαρχήσειέν[1] οἱ τῶν συμμάχων; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαξιώσειεν ὑπὸ τοιούτου τινὸς ἄρχεσθαι; καὶ μὴν ὅσα ἐκ τούτου κακὰ γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
8 οὐδὲν δέομαί σοι σαφῶς εἰδότι διηγεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαίως ἐρῶ, ὅτι ἂν μὲν μηδὲν δέον ὁ τοιοῦτος πράττῃ, πολὺ πλείω ἄν σε τῶν πολεμίων βλάψειεν, ἂν δέ τι τῶν προσηκόντων ποιῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν σοι φοβερὸς ἐκφρονήσας ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας γένοιτο.

9 "Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτό τι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους καὶ πλουτῶσι καὶ ἀνδρίζωνται, τόσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοί τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὔξουσι, καί σφισι καὶ ἐκείνη κέχρηται καὶ χαίρει, πλὴν ἄν τις τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήσῃ· τοῦτον γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς κολάζουσι.
2 καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πολλῷ κρείττους αἱ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχιῶν εἰσι, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπολιτεύοντο, οὐδὲν μέγα κατέπραξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνως[2] ζῆν
3 ἤρξαντο, ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐν τυραννίσι καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαγόμενοι ἀεί τε δουλεύουσι καὶ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ προστατείαις ἐπετησίοις ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω τινὰ χρόνον χρώμενοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι διατελοῦσιν
4 ὄντες. ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασιν οἰκεῖα ἔχοντας χρῆσθαι; ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄλλως τὸ πρῶτον πολιτευόμενοι,

[1] πειθαρχήσειέν (πιθαρχήσειέν) L', πιθάρχησεν V.
[2] ἐκείνως L', ἐκεῖνος V.

tempt? Who of our allies would obey him? Who even of the soldiers themselves would not disdain to be ruled by such a man? And yet I need not explain to you all the evils that naturally result from such a condition, for you know them thoroughly; but this one thing I shall say, as I am constrained to do—that if a minister of this kind failed in every duty, he would injure you far more than the enemy, while if he met with any success in the conduct of his office, his lack of education would cause him to lose his head and he as well would prove formidable to you. B.C. 29

"Such a situation, however, does not arise in democracies, but the more men there are who are wealthy and brave, so much the more do they vie with each other and upbuild the state, and the state, on its part, rejoices in them, unless one of them conceives a desire for tyrannical power; for the citizens severely punish such an one. That this is so, now, and that democracies are far superior to monarchies, is shown by the experience of Greece. For as long as the people had the monarchical form of government, they accomplished nothing of importance; but when they began to live under the democratic system they became most renowned. It is shown also by the experience of the other races of mankind. For those which still live under tyrannies are always in slavery and are always plotting against their rulers, whereas those which have governors chosen for a year or a longer period continue to be both free and independent. But why should we resort to examples furnished by other peoples when we have examples here at home? We Romans ourselves at first had a different form of government, then later, after we

ἔπειτα ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐπάσχομεν, τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθυμήσαμεν καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὴν
5 πρὸς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον προήλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγαθοῖς ἰσχύσαντες, ἐξ ὧν ἥ τε[1] γερουσία προεβούλευε καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου τό τε στρατευόμενον προεθυμεῖτο καὶ τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ὧν οὐδὲν ἂν ἐν τυραννίδι πραχθείη.[2] ἀμέλει τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς διὰ ταῦτα μῖσος οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον ὥστε καὶ ἐπάρατον τὸ πολίτευμα ποιήσασθαι.

10 "Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίᾳ σοὶ αὐτῷ συμφερόντων εἰπεῖν, πῶς μὲν ἂν ὑπομείνειας τοσαῦτα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διοικῶν, πῶς δ' ἂν μὴ ὑγιαίνων ἐξαρκέσειας; τίνος δ' ἂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπολαύσειας, πῶς δ' ἂν στερόμενος αὐτῶν εὐδαιμονήσειας; τίνι δ' ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἡσθείης, πότε δ' οὐκ
2 ἂν ἰσχυρῶς λυπηθείης; πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν πολλὰ καὶ δεδιέναι πολλά, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡδίστων ἐλάχιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστατα ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροί τινες οὐδὲ διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας ἐδέξαντο.

3 "Ταῦτ' οὖν προϊδόμενος[3] προβούλευσαι πρὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι· αἰσχρὸν γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι παρακύψαντά τινα ἅπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ

[1] ἥ τε L', ἥ τε ἡ V.
[2] πραχθείη V, προαχθείη L'.
[3] προϊδόμενος Bk., προειδόμενος VL'.

had gone through many bitter experiences, conceived a desire for liberty; and when we had secured it, we advanced to our present proud eminence, strong in no advantages save those that come from democracy. It was on the strength of these that the senate deliberated, the people ratified, the soldiers in the ranks were filled with zeal and their commanders with ambition. None of these things could happen under a tyranny. At any rate the ancient Romans came to feel so great a hatred of tyranny for these reasons that they even laid that form of government under a curse. B.C. 29

"And apart from these considerations, if one is to speak about matters which touch your personal interests, how could you endure to administer affairs so manifold, not only by day but also by night? How could you hold out if your health should fail? What human blessings could you enjoy, and how could you be happy if deprived of them? In what could you take genuine pleasure, and when would you be free from the keenest pain? For it is quite inevitable that a man who holds an office of this kind should have many anxieties, be subject to many fears, and have very little enjoyment of what is most pleasant, but should always and everywhere both see and hear, do and suffer, only that which is disagreeable. That, I imagine, is the reason why, in certain instances, among both Greeks and barbarians, men have refused to accept the office of king when it was offered to them.

"Therefore I would have you foresee all these disadvantages and take counsel before you become involved in them. For it is disgraceful, or rather it is quite impossible, for a man to withdraw when

ἀναδῦναι. μηδέ σε ἐξαπατήσῃ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐξουσίας μήθ' ἡ περιουσία τῶν κτημάτων, μὴ τὸ στῖφος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, μὴ ὁ[1] ὄχλος
4 τῶν θεραπευόντων. οἵ τε γὰρ πολὺ δυνάμενοι πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ οἱ συχνὰ κεκτημένοι συχνὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀναγκάζονται, τά τε πλήθη τῶν δορυφόρων διὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ἀθροίζεται, καὶ οἱ κολακεύοντες ἐπιτρίψειαν ἄν τινα μᾶλλον ἢ σώσειαν.[2] ὥσθ' ἕνεκα μὲν τούτων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εὖ φρονῶν αὐταρ-
11 χῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσειεν· εἰ δ' ὅτι καὶ πλουτίζειν καὶ σώζειν τινὰς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ δρᾶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι δύνανται, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ὑβρίζειν σφίσι καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὃν ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἔξεστιν, ἀξίαν τις διὰ ταῦτα σπουδῆς τὴν τυραννίδα εἶναι νομί-
2 ζει, τοῦ παντὸς ἁμαρτάνει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ κακόν τι ποιεῖν οὔθ' ὡς αἰσχρὰ οὔθ' ὡς σφαλερὰ καὶ μεμισημένα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐστί, δέομαί σοι λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τοιοῦτος εἶ, οὔτ' ἂν διὰ ταῦτα μοναρχῆσαι ἕλοιο. προῄρημαί τε ἐγὼ νῦν οὐ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄν τις κακῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα μεταχειριζόμενος ἐξεργάσαιτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσα καὶ οἱ πάνυ ἄριστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ
3 ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκάζονται. τὸ δ' ἕτερον, τό τινα ἀφθόνως εὐεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδαστον μέν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ γιγνόμενον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλεὲς καὶ ἀσφαλές ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἀντ-

[1] ὁ supplied by Bk.
[2] ἐπιτρίψειαν . . . σώσειαν Dind., ἐπιτρίψαιεν . . . σώσαιεν VL'.

once he has entered upon the position. And do not be deceived, either, by the greatness of its authority or the abundance of its possessions, or by its array of bodyguards, or by its throng of courtiers. For men who have much power have many troubles; those who have large possessions are obliged to spend largely; the multitude of bodyguards is gathered merely because of the multitude of conspirators; and as for the flatterers, they would be more likely to destroy you than to save you. Consequently, in view of these considerations, no sensible man would desire to become supreme ruler. But if the thought that men in such a station are able to enrich others, to save their lives, and to confer many other benefits upon them—yes, by heaven, and even to insult them and to do harm to whomsoever they please—leads anyone to think that tyranny is worth striving for, he is utterly mistaken. I need not, indeed, tell you that the life of wantonness and evil-doing is disgraceful or that it is fraught with peril and is hated of both gods and men; for in any event you are not inclined to such things, and you would not be led by these considerations to choose to be sole ruler. And, besides, I have chosen to speak now, not of all the mischief one might work who managed the task badly, but only of what even those who make the very best use of the position are obliged both to do and to suffer. But as to the other consideration,—that thus one is in a position to bestow favours in profusion,—this is indeed a privilege worth striving for; yet however noble, august, glorious, and safe it is when enjoyed by a private citizen, in a king's position it does not, in the first place, counterbalance the other considerations

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αξιον τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτοπωτέρων, ὥστε τινὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα[1] ἑλέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντα τὴν μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἑτέροις
12 δώσειν τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀηδίαν αὐτὸν ἕξειν, ἔπειτα δ' οὐδ' ἁπλοῦν, ὥς τις οἴεται. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειέ τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦντές τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν πάντες ὡς εἰπεῖν εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι, κἂν μηδεμία
2 εὐθὺς εὐεργεσία αὐτοῖς ὀφείληται· πᾶς γάρ τις φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀρέσκει, κἀγαθόν τι ἐπαυρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι δυναμένου βούλεται· ἃ δὲ ἐνδέχεται αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι (τιμάς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς λέγω, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ χρήματα) πάνυ ἂν εὐαρίθμητα ὡς πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος εὑρεθείη. τούτου τε οὕτως ἔχοντος ἔχθος ἂν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν διαμαρτανόντων ὧν χρῄζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία παρὰ τῶν τυγχανόντων ὑπάρ-
3 ξειεν. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλόμενόν τι λαμβάνοντες, οὔτ' ἄλλως μεγάλην οἴονται δεῖν τῷ διδόντι αὐτὸ[2] χάριν ἔχειν ἅτε μηδὲν παρὰ δόξαν εὑρισκόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὀκνοῦσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀναξίους ἐν τούτῳ σφᾶς τοῦ
4 καλῶς πάσχειν ἀποφήνωσιν·[3] οἱ δὲ ὧν ἐλπίζουσιν ἀτυχοῦντες λυποῦνται κατ' ἀμφότερα, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οἰκείου τινὸς στερισκόμενοι (πάντες γὰρ ἔχειν ἤδη νομίζουσιν ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι), τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ[4] ἑαυτῶν ἀδικίαν τινὰ

[1] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκεῖνα Bk., δι' ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτο VL'.
[2] αὐτὸ L', αὐτῷ V.
[3] ἀποφήνωσιν St., ἀποφανοῦσιν VL'. [4] αὐτοὶ L', ἑαυτοὶ V.

of a less agreeable nature, so that a man should be induced for the sake of gaining this advantage to accept those disadvantages also, especially when the sovereign is bound to bestow upon others the benefit to be derived from this advantage and to have for himself alone the unpleasantness that results from the disadvantages. In the second place, this advantage is not without complications, as people think; for a ruler cannot possibly satisfy all who ask for favours. Those, namely, who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favour is due to them at the moment; for every one naturally thinks well of himself and wishes to enjoy some benefit at the hands of him who is able to bestow it. But the benefits which can be given them,—I mean titles and offices and sometimes money,—will be found very easy to count when compared with the vast number of the applicants. This being so, greater hostility will inevitably be felt toward the monarch by those who fail to get what they want, than friendliness by those who obtain their desires. For the latter take what they receive as due them and think there is no particular reason for being grateful to the giver, since they are getting no more than they expected; besides, they actually shrink from showing gratitude for fear they may thereby give evidence of their being unworthy of the kindness done them. The others, when they are disappointed in their hopes, are aggrieved for two reasons: in the first place, they feel that they are being robbed of what belongs to them, for invariably men think they already possess whatever they set their hearts upon; and, in the second place, they feel that, if they are

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καταγιγνώσκοντες, ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν
5 *ὧν ἂν προσδοκήσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὀρθῶς διδοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τό τε κατ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστου δῆλον ὅτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμᾷ τοὺς δὲ παρορᾷ, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοῖς μὲν φρόνημα τοῖς δ' ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος σφῶν προσγίγνεσθαι. ὡς ἄν γέ τις τοῦτ' εὐλαβούμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθελήσῃ,*
6 *τὸ σύμπαν ἁμαρτήσεται· οἵ τε γὰρ πονηροὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τιμώμενοι χείρους ἄν, ἤτοι καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ὡς ἀγαθοὶ ἢ πάντως γε θεραπεύεσθαι ὡς φοβεροὶ δοκοῦντες, γίγνοιντο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ μηδὲν πλεῖον αὐτῶν εὑρισκόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου σφίσιν ἀγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἰσομοιρίας λυποῖντο ἢ τῷ[1] καὶ αὐτοί τινος ἀξιοῦ-*
7 *σθαι χαίροιεν,[2] κἀκ τούτου τήν τε ἐπιτήδευσιν τῶν κρειττόνων ἐῷεν ἂν καὶ τὴν ζήλωσιν τῶν χειρόνων μετέρχοιντο, καὶ οὕτω κἂν[3] ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τιμῶν οὔθ' οἱ διδόντες αὐτὰς ἀγαθόν τι καρποῖντο καὶ οἱ λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνοιντο. ὥστε σοι τοῦτο, ὃ μάλιστα ἄν τισιν ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἀρέσειε, δυσμεταχειριστότατον συμβῆναι.*

13 "*Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τἆλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν*

[1] *τῷ* supplied by Pflugk.
[2] *χαίροιεν* R. Steph., *χαίροιε* VL'.
[3] *κἂν* V, *καὶ* L'.

not indignant at their failure to obtain whatever they expect to get, they are actually acknowledging some shortcoming on their own part. The reason for all this is, of course, that the ruler who bestows such gifts in the right way obviously makes it his first business to weigh well the merits of each person, and thus he honours some and passes others by, with the result that, in consequence of his decision, those who are honoured have a further reason for elation, while those who are passed by feel a new resentment, each class being moved by their own consciousness of their respective merits. If, however, a ruler tries to avoid this result and decides to award these honours capriciously, he will fail utterly. For the base, finding themselves honoured contrary to their deserts, would become worse, concluding that they were either being actually commended as good or at any rate were being courted as formidable; and the upright, seeing that they were securing no greater consideration than the base but were being regarded as being merely on an equality with them, would be more vexed at being reduced to the level of the others than pleased at being thought worthy of some honour themselves, and consequently would abandon their cultivation of the higher principles of conduct and become zealous in the pursuit of the baser. And thus the result even of the distribution of honours would be this: those who bestowed them would reap no benefit from them and those who received them would become demoralized. Hence this advantage, which some would find the most attractive in monarchies, proves in your case a most difficult problem to deal with.

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"Reflecting upon these considerations and the

εἶπον ἐνθυμηθεὶς φρόνησον ἕως ἔξεστί σοι, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τε καὶ ἑκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσῃς, ἐνδοξότατός τε ἅμα ἀνθρώπων ἔσῃ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος· ἂν δ' ἀναμείνῃς βίαν τινά σοι προσαχθῆναι, τάχ' ἄν τι 2 δεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμήριον δέ, Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὔτ' ἠθέλησαν δυναστεῦσαι οὔτ' ἔπαθον παρὰ τοῦτο δεινὸν οὐδέν· Κίννας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὅ τε Μάριος ὁ ἕτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὅ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπι-3 θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. δυσχερὲς γάρ ἐστι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, τοσούτοις τε ἔτεσι δεδημοκρατημένην καὶ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσαν, δουλεῦσαί τινι ἐθελῆσαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὅτι τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδὴ λευκοῖς ἵπποις 4 ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐχρήσατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδή τινα πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὅπως τῷ πατρί σου προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ἔσχον. καίτοι τούτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἄνδρες οὐδένες ἄλλοι γεγόνασιν.

5 "Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἁπλῶς οὕτω συμβουλεύω σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ προπρᾶξαι καὶ δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις ἃ προσήκει κατακλεῖσαι, καθάπερ που καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα

others which I mentioned a little while ago, be prudent while you may and duly place in the hands of the people the army, the provinces, the offices, and the public funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure; but if you wait for some compulsion to be brought to bear upon you, you will very likely suffer some disaster and gain infamy besides. Consider the testimony of history: Marius and Sulla and Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, not only refused to assume sovereign power but also escaped disaster thereby; whereas Cinna and Strabo,[1] the younger Marius and Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later time, conceived a desire for sovereign power and perished miserably. For it is a difficult matter to induce this city, which has enjoyed a democratic government for so many years and holds empire over so many people, to consent to become a slave to any one. You have heard how the people banished Camillus just because he used white horses for his triumph; you have heard how they deposed Scipio from power, first condemning him for some act of arrogance; and you remember how they proceeded against your father just because they conceived a suspicion that he desired to be sole ruler. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

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"Nevertheless, I do not advise you merely to relinquish the sovereignty, but first to take all the measures which the public interest demands and by decrees and laws to settle definitively all important business, just as Sulla did, you recall; for even if some of his ordinances were subsequently overthrown,

[1] Cf. xliv. 28, 1.

ἀνετράπη, ἀλλὰ τά γε πλείω καὶ μείζω διαμένει. 6 *καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι καὶ ὣς στασιάσουσί τινες, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὖθις εἴπω ὅτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο μοναρχούμενοι. ὡς εἴγε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνδέχεταί τισι συνενεχθῆναι προσκοποίμεθα, ἀλογώτατα ἂν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας συμβαινούσας φοβηθείημεν ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας* 7 *ἐκφυομένας. περὶ ὧν τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησά τι εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ*[1] *καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἄλλως εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πρᾶγμα ἠθέλησα, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαί σοι τοῦθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τῇ φύσει ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἄνδρας*[2] . . ."

14 "(. . . *οὔτε πεῖσαί τι ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ παρρησίας τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοίους δύνανται) κἂν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἅτε μὴ ὁμογνωμονούντων σφῶν κατορθοῦσιν. ὥστε εἴ τι κήδῃ τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοσούτους πολέμους πεπολέμηκας, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδέως ἂν ἐπιδοίης, μεταρρύθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον* 2 *πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεῖναί τισι*

[1] δὴ R. Steph., δεῖ VL'.

[2] L' indicates a lacuna at this point, V does not. In their common archetype L one folio was lost, containing some sixty lines. Zonaras' epitome at this point is as follows: *ὁ δὲ Μαικήνας τοὐναντίον συνεβούλευεν, ἅπαν εἰπὼν ἤδη τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ διοικῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ μεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ταῦτα προέμενον, κ.τ.λ.*

yet the majority of them and the more important still remain. And do not say that even then some men will indulge in factional quarrels, and thus require me, on my part, to say once more that the Romans would be much more apt to refuse to submit to the rule of a monarch. For if we should undertake to provide against all possible contingencies, it would be utterly absurd for us to be more afraid of the dissensions which are but incidental to democracy than of the tyrannies which are the natural outgrowth of monarchy. Regarding the terrible nature of such tyrannies I have not so much as attempted to say anything; for it has not been my wish idly to inveigh against a thing that so readily admits of condemnation, but rather to show you that monarchy is so constituted by nature that not even the men of high character. . ."[1] B.C. 29

"(. . . nor can they easily convince by frank argument those who are not in a like situation) and they succeed in their enterprises, because their subjects are not in accord with one another. Hence, if you feel any concern at all for your country, for which you have fought so many wars and would so gladly give even your life, reorganize it and regulate it in the direction of greater moderation. For while

[1] The conclusion of Agrippa's speech is missing in our MSS., as is also the earlier portion of that of Maecenas together with the introduction to it. Zonaras' brief *résumé* (down through chap. 17) is as follows: "But Maecenas advised the contrary course, declaring that he (Caesar) had already for a long time been directing the monarchy, and that he must inevitably do one of two things—either remain in the same position or abandon his present course and perish."

πάνθ' ἁπλῶς ὅσα[1] βούλονται καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐξετάζῃς, εὐδαιμονίας ἅπασιν αἴτιον γίγνεται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων, συμφορᾶς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν ἐξουσίαν διδοὺς παιδὶ δή τινι καὶ μαινομένῳ ξίφος ὀρέγει, ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους καὶ μὴ βουλομένους σώζει.
3 *διόπερ καὶ σὲ ἀξιῶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπρεπείας τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπατηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐξ αὐτῶν προσκοπήσαντα τήν τε θρασύτητα τοῦ ὁμίλου παῦσαι καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν κοινῶν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀρίστοις προσθεῖναι, ἵνα βουλεύωσι[2] μὲν οἱ φρονιμώτατοι, ἄρχωσι δὲ οἱ στρατηγικώτατοι, στρατεύωνται δὲ καὶ μισθοφορῶσιν οἵ τε ἰσχυρότατοι καὶ οἱ πενέ-*
4 *στατοι. οὕτω γὰρ τά τε ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἕκαστοι προθύμως ποιοῦντες, καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἀντιδιδόντες, οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων, ἐν οἷς καταδέουσί τινων, ἐπαισθήσονται, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ἀληθῆ τήν τε ἐλευθερίαν*
5 *τὴν ἀσφαλῆ κτήσονται· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐλευθερία τοῦ τε βελτίστου δουλεία πικροτάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ὄλεθρον φέρει, αὕτη δὲ τό τε σῶφρον πανταχοῦ προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἅπασι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπονέμουσα πάντας ὁμοίως εὐδαίμονας τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῇ ποιεῖ.*

[1] ἁπλῶς ὅσα Pflugk, ὅσα ἁπλῶς VL'.
[2] βουλεύωσι R. Steph., βουλεύουσι VL'.

the privilege of doing and saying precisely what one pleases becomes, in the case of sensible persons, if you examine the matter, a cause of the highest happiness to them all, yet in the case of the foolish it becomes a cause of disaster. For this reason he who offers this privilege to the foolish is virtually putting a sword in the hands of a child or a madman; but he who offers it to the prudent is not only preserving all their other privileges but is also saving these men themselves even in spite of themselves. Therefore I ask you not to fix your gaze upon the specious terms applied to these things and thus be deceived, but to weigh carefully the results which come from the things themselves and then put an end to the insolence of the populace and place the management of public affairs in the hands of yourself and the other best citizens, to the end that the business of deliberation may be performed by the most prudent and that of ruling by those best fitted for command, while the work of serving in the army for pay is left to those who are strongest physically and most needy. In this way each class of citizens will zealously discharge the duties which devolve upon them and will readily render to one another such services as are due, and will thus be unaware of their inferiority when one class is at a disadvantage as compared with another, and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude of the best element to the other and brings upon both a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which I speak everywhere prefers for honour the men of prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.

B.C. 29

15 "Μὴ γάρ τοι οἰηθῇς ὅτι τυραννῆσαί σοι, τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν δουλωσαμένῳ, παραινῶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐγώ ποτε εἰπεῖν οὔτ' ἂν σὺ πρᾶξαι τολμήσειας· ἐκεῖνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα καὶ σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει γένοιτο ἄν, τό τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτόν σε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν νομοθετεῖν, μηδενὸς τῶν πολλῶν μήτ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτοῖς μήτ'[1] ἐναντιουμένου, 2 καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλήματα διοικεῖσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τῶν ἄλλων τὸ κελευόμενον ποιούντων, τό τε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τάς τε τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς ὁρίζειν, ἵνα καὶ νόμος εὐθὺς ᾖ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν βουλευσαμένῳ σοι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοτίμων 3 ἀρέσῃ, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι κρύφα καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πολεμῶνται, οἵ τε τι ἐγχειριζόμενοι ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ σπουδαρχίᾳ ἀποδεικνύωνται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνευ φθόνου τιμῶνται, οἱ δὲ 4 κακοὶ ἄνευ συστάσεως κολάζωνται. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τά τε πραττόμενα ὀρθῶς διοικηθείη, μήτε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφερόμενα μήτε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενα μήτε τοῖς[2] παρακελευστοῖς ἐπιτρεπόμενα μήτε ἐκ φιλοτιμίας κινδυνευόμενα, καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἡδέως ἀπολαύσαιμεν, μήτε πολέμους ἐπικινδύνους μήτε

[1] μήτ' Bk., μηδὲ VL'.
[2] τοῖς Xyl., ἐν τοῖς VL'.

"For I would not have you think that I am advising you to enslave the people and the senate and then set up a tyranny. This is a thing I should never dare suggest to you nor would you bring yourself to do it. The other course, however, would be honourable and expedient both for you and for the city—that you should yourself, in consultation with the best men, enact all the appropriate laws, without the possibility of any opposition or remonstrance to these laws on the part of any one from the masses[1]; that you and your counsellors should conduct the wars according to your own wishes, all other citizens rendering instant obedience to your commands; that the choice of the officials should rest with you and your advisers; and that you and they should also determine the honours and the punishments. The advantage of all this would be that whatever pleased you in consultation with your peers would immediately become law; that our wars against our enemies would be waged with secrecy and at the opportune time; that those to whom any task was entrusted would be appointed because of their merit and not as the result of the lot or rivalry for office; that the good would be honoured without arousing jealousy and the bad punished without causing rebellion. Thus whatever business was done would be most likely to be managed in the right way, instead of being referred to the popular assembly, or deliberated upon openly, or entrusted to partisan delegates, or exposed to the danger of ambitious rivalry; and we should be happy in the enjoyment of the blessings which are vouchsafed to us, instead of being embroiled in hazardous wars abroad or in

B.C. 29

[1] Probably a reference to the tribunes.

5 στάσεις ἀνοσίους[1] ποιούμενοι. ταῦτα γὰρ πᾶσα μὲν δημοκρατία ἔχει· οἱ γὰρ δυνατώτεροι, τῶν τε πρωτείων[2] ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους μισθούμενοι, πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω φύρουσι· πλεῖστα δὲ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν
6 ὅπως ἄλλως παύσεται. τεκμήριον δέ, πάμπολυς ἐξ οὗ χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ στασιάζομεν. αἴτιον δὲ τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων· ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ παντοδαποὶ καὶ τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς φύσεις ὄντες καὶ ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσοῦτον προῆκται ὥστε καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῶς ἂν διοικηθῆναι.

16 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγω, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γεγονότα. τέως μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πολλοὶ ἦμεν οὔτε μεγάλῳ τινὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων διεφέρομεν, καλῶς τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν
2 κατεστρεψάμεθα· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔξω αὐτῆς ἐξήχθημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἠπείρων καὶ τῶν νήσων ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσαμεν, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ μετεσχήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συστάσεις ἐστασιάσαμεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο
3 προηγάγομεν. καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ὁλκὰς μεγάλη καὶ πλήρης ὄχλου παντοδαποῦ χωρὶς κυβερνήτου, πολλὰς ἤδη γενεὰς ἐν κλύδωνι πολλῷ φερομένη σαλεύει τε καὶ ᾄττει δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε, καθάπερ ἀνερμάτιστος οὖσα. μήτ' οὖν
4 χειμαζομένην ἔτ' αὐτὴν περιίδῃς, ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὡς

[1] ἀνοσίους Bk., ἀνοσίας VL'. [2] πρωτείων Bk., πρώτων VL'.

unholy civil strife. For these are the evils found in every democracy,—the more powerful men, namely, in reaching out after the primacy and hiring the weaker, turn everything upside down,—but they have been most frequent in our country, and there is no other way to put a stop to them than the way I propose. And the evidence is, that we have now for a long time been engaged in wars and civil strife. The cause is the multitude of our population and the magnitude of the business of our government; for the population embraces men of every kind, in respect both to race and to endowment, and both their tempers and their desires are manifold; and the business of the state has become so vast that it can be administered only with the greatest difficulty. B.C. 29

"Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. For while we were but few in number and differed in no important respect from our neighbours, we got along well with our government and subjugated almost all Italy; but ever since we were led outside the peninsula and crossed over to many continents and many islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. At first it was only at home and within our walls that we broke up into factions and quarrelled, but afterwards we even carried this plague out into the legions. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman manned with a crew of every race and lacking a pilot, has now for many generations been rolling and plunging as it has drifted this way and that in a heavy sea, a ship as it were without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she

ὑπέραντλός ἐστι, μήτε περὶ ἕρμα περιρραγῆναι ἐάσῃς, σαθρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι χρόνον ἀντισχεῖν δυνήσεται· ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπιγνώμονά σε καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῆς ἐπέστησαν, μὴ προδῷς τὴν πατρίδα, ἵν' ὥσπερ νῦν διὰ σὲ μικρὸν ἀναπέπνευκεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν αἰῶνα μετ' ἀσφαλείας διαγάγῃ.

17 "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς σοι παραινῶ, μοναρχεῖσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἀξιῶν, πάλαι σε ἡγοῦμαι πεπεῖσθαι· τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος καὶ ἑτοίμως καὶ προθύμως τὴν προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάδεξαι, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ προῇ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι βουλευόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπολέσαι καὶ 2 προσέτι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι. τίς γάρ σου φείσεται, ἄν τε ἐς τὸν δῆμον τὰ πράγματ' ἀνώσῃς, ἄν τε[1] καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐπιτρέψῃς, παμπόλλων μὲν ὄντων τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λελυπημένων, πάντων δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιποιησομένων, ὧν οὐδεὶς οὔτε μὴ ἀμύνασθαί σε ἐφ' οἷς πεποίηκας οὔτ' ἀντί- 3 παλον ὑπολιπέσθαι ἐθελήσει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκστὰς τῆς δυναστείας καὶ κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη, κἀκ τούτου μηκέτ' αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθεὶς ἐφθάρη, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσας[2] προσαπώλετο. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ὅμοια αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόνθεσαν, εἰ μὴ προετε-

[1] πράγματ' ἀνώσῃς ἄν τε Bk., πράγματα ὡς ἦσαν τε VL'.
[2] ποιήσας V, ποιῆσαι ἐθελήσας L'.

is waterlogged. And do not let her be pounded to pieces upon a reef[1]; for her timbers are rotten and she will not be able to hold out much longer. But since the gods have taken pity on her and have set you over her as her arbiter and overseer, prove not false to her, to the end that, even as now she has revived a little by your aid, so she may survive in safety for the ages to come. B.C. 29

"Now I think you have long since been convinced that I am right in urging you to give the people a monarchical government; if this is the case, accept the leadership over them readily and with enthusiasm—or rather do not throw it away. For the question we are deliberating upon is not whether we shall take something, but whether we shall decide not to lose it and by so doing incur danger into the bargain. Who, indeed, will spare you if you thrust the control of the state into the hands of the people, or even if you entrust it to some other man, seeing that there are great numbers whom you have injured, and that practically all these will lay claim to the sovereignty, and yet no one of them will wish either that you should go unpunished for what you have done or that you should be allowed to survive as his rival? Pompey, for example, once he had given up the supreme power, became the object of scorn and of secret plotting and consequently lost his life when he was unable to regain his power. Caesar also, your father, lost not only his position but also his life for doing precisely what you are proposing to do. And Marius and Sulla would certainly have suffered a like fate had they not died

[1] Cf. Thucydides vii. 25, a passage which Dio seems to be imitating.

4 θνήκεσαν. καίτοι τὸν Σύλλαν φασί τινες αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοβηθέντα φθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι· συχνὰ γοῦν τῶν νομοθετηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ λύεσθαι ἤρξατο. ὥστε καὶ σὺ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπίδους πολλοὺς δὲ Σερτωρίους Βρούτους Κασσίους γενήσεσθαί σοι προσδόκα.

18 "Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἰδὼν καὶ τἆλλα πάντα λογισάμενος, μὴ προῇ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, ἵνα[1] μὴ δόξῃς τισὶν ἐθελούσιος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφεῖσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἂν καὶ τοῦτό τις ὑποπτεύσῃ, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου τὸ ἐπιθύμημά ἐστι, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ· ἔπειτα δὲ τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὴν ἀνάγκην ὑφ' ἧς ἐς τὰ 2 πράγματα ταῦτα προήχθης; ὥστε εἴπερ[2] τι αἰτίαμα αὐτῆς ἐστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρός σου σφαγεῦσι δικαιότατα ἄν τις αὐτὸ ἐγκαλέσειεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μήτ' ἀδίκως μήτ' οἰκτρῶς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ὅπλα ἀντήρω, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὔτ' ἂν[3] Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Λεπίδῳ συνέθου, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἠμύνω.
3 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πάντα ταῦτ' ἐποίησας, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ· εἰ δ' οὖν τι καὶ πεπλημμέληται, ἀλλ' οὔτι[4] καὶ μεταθέσθαι ἔτ' ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμεθα. ὥστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεισθῶμεν τῇ τύχῃ τῇ τὴν μοναρχίαν σοι 4 διδούσῃ. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῇ ἔχωμεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀπέλυσεν[5]

[1] ἵνα L', ἵνα δὴ V.
[2] ὥστε εἴπερ R. Steph., ὥσπερ VL'.
[3] ἂν supplied by St.
[4] οὔτι Dind., οὔ τοι VL'.
[5] ἀπέλυσεν Bk., ἀνέπλησεν VL'.

first. And yet some say that Sulla, fearing this very fate, forestalled it by making away with himself;[1] at any rate, much of his legislation began to be undone while he was yet alive. Therefore you also must expect that there will be many a man who will prove a Lepidus to you and many a man who will prove a Sertorius, a Brutus, or a Cassius. B.C. 29

"Looking, then, at these facts and reflecting upon all the other considerations involved, do not abandon yourself and your country merely in order to avoid giving the impression to some that you deliberately sought the office. For, in the first place, even if men do suspect this, the ambition is not inconsistent with human nature and the risk involved is a noble one. Again, what man is there who does not know the circumstances which constrained you to assume your present position? Hence, if there be any fault to find with these compelling circumstances, one might with entire justice lay it upon your father's murderers. For if they had not slain him in so unjust and pitiable a fashion, you would not have taken up arms, would not have gathered your legions, would not have made your compact with Antony and Lepidus, and would not have had to defend yourself against these men themselves. That you were right, however, and were justified in doing all this, no one is unaware. Therefore, even if some slight error has been committed, yet we cannot at this time with safety undo anything that has been done. Therefore, for our own sake and for that of the state let us obey Fortune, who offers you the sole rulership. And let us be very grateful to her that she has not only freed us from our domestic troubles, but has also placed in

[1] This tradition is found here only.

ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποίηται, ἵν' ἐπιμεληθεὶς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ προσήκει, δείξῃς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἐτάραξαν καὶ ἐκακούργησαν, σὺ δὲ δὴ χρηστὸς εἶ.

5 "Καὶ μή μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβηθῇς. ὅσῳ τε γὰρ πλείων[1] ὑπάρχει, τόσῳ πλείω καὶ τὰ σώζοντα ἔχει, καὶ μακρῷ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι ῥᾷόν ἐστι· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τἀλλότρια προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σῶσαι βραχεῖα φροντὶς
6 ἀρκεῖ. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ δείσῃς ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσῃ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἄν γε ἐθελήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς παραινέσω σοι διοικῆσαι. καί με μὴ νομίσῃς ἀπαρτᾶν[2] ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως τὸν λόγον, ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖόν σοι περὶ αὐτῆς δια-
7 λεχθῶ· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὑπ' ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀκριβῶς καταμάθῃς ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥᾴδιον τῷ γε ἔμφρονι τὸ καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἄρξαι ἐστί.

19 "Φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναί σε κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς τὸ βουλευτικὸν πᾶν καὶ φυλοκρινῆσαι[3] καὶ διαλέξαι, ἐπειδή τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βεβουλεύκασι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετήν τινα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κατασχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαλεῖψαι.
2 μὴ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινὰ ἀγαθόν γε ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δός. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τούς τε γενναιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τούς τε πλου-

[1] πλείων V, πλεῖον L'. [2] ἀπαρτᾶν L', ἀπαντᾶν V.
[3] φυλοκρινῆσαι V, φιλοκρινῆσαι L'.

your hands the organisation of the state, to the end that you, by bestowing due care upon it, may prove to all mankind that those troubles were stirred up and that mischief wrought by other men, whereas you are an upright man. B.C. 29

"And do not, I beg you, be afraid of the magnitude of the empire. For the greater its extent, the more numerous are the salutary elements it possesses; also, to guard anything is far easier than to acquire it. Toils and dangers are needed to win over what belongs to others, but a little care suffices to retain what is already yours. Moreover, you need not be afraid, either, that you will not live quite safely in that office and enjoy all the blessings which men know, provided that you will consent to administer it as I shall advise you. And do not think that I am shifting the discussion from the subject in hand if I speak to you at considerable length about the office. For of course my purpose in doing this will be, not to hear myself talk, but that you may learn by a strict demonstration that it is both possible and easy, for a man of sense at least, to rule well and without danger.

"I maintain, therefore, that you ought first and foremost to choose and select with discrimination the entire senatorial body, inasmuch as some who have not been fit have, on account of our dissensions, become senators. Such of them as possess any excellence you ought to retain, but the rest you should erase from the roll. Do not, however, get rid of any good man because of his poverty, but even give him the money he requires. In the place of those who have been dropped introduce the noblest,

σιωτάτους ἀντεσάγαγε, μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων
3 ἐπιλεξάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ σύ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιήσῃ, καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα νεοχμώσει τι μηδένα ἐλλόγιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλήσουσί σε ἅτε καὶ κοινωνοί σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς γεγονότες.

4 "Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων ποίησον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἑκασταχόθι καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσούτους ἑκατέρους ἀντεγγράψας ὅσοι ποτ' ἂν ἀρέσωσί σε, μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνῶσί σοι, τοσούτῳ ῥᾷον αὐτός
5 τε ἐν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πείσεις ὅτι οὔτε ὡς δούλοις σφίσιν οὔθ' ὡς χείροσί πῃ ἡμῶν οὖσι χρῇ, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς[1] κοινοῖ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκείαν αὐτὴν
6 σπουδάζωσι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε δέω τοῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσί σφισι μεταδοθῆναί φημι δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἰσομοιροῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ὦσιν, ὥσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες εἶναι.

[1] αὐτοῖς L', αὐτῆς V.

the best, and the richest men obtainable, selecting them not only from Italy but also from the allies and the subject nations. In this way you will have many assistants for yourself and will have in safe keeping the leading men from all the provinces; thus the provinces, having no leaders of established repute, will not begin rebellions, and their prominent men will regard you with affection because they have been made sharers in your empire. B.C. 29

"Take these same measures in the case of the knights also, by enrolling in the equestrian order such men as hold second place in their several districts as regards birth, excellence and wealth. Register as many new members in both classes as you please, without being over particular on the score of their number. For the more men of repute you have as your associates, the easier you will find it, for your own part, to administer everything in time of need and, so far as your subjects are concerned, the more easily will you persuade them that you are not treating them as slaves or as in any way inferior to us, but that you are sharing with them, not only all the other advantages which we ourselves enjoy, but also the chief magistracy as well, and thus make them as devoted to that office as if it were their own. And so far am I from retracting this last statement as rashly made, that I declare that the citizens ought every one actually to be given a share in the government, in order that, being on an equality with us in this respect also, they may be our faithful allies, living as it were in a single city, namely our own, and considering that this is in very truth a city, whereas their own homes are but the countryside and villages.

"'Αλλὰ περὶ μὲν[1] τούτου αὖθις ἀκριβέστερον σκεψόμεθα ἃ χρὴ πρᾶξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντα
20 ἀθρόα αὐτοῖς χαρισώμεθα· καταλέγεσθαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς μὲν τὴν ἱππάδα ὀκτωκαιδεκέτεις, ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα ἥ τε τῶν σωμάτων αὐτῶν εὐεξία καὶ ἡ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιτηδειότης διαφαίνεται, ἐς δὲ τὸ συνέδριον πεντεκαιεικοσιέτεις· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν καὶ σφαλερόν ἐστι τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα μηδενὶ πρὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ νεωτέροις τισὶν ἐγχειρίζεσθαι;
2 ταμιεύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγείτωσαν,[2] τριακοντοῦται γενόμενοι. ταύτας τε γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων μόνας οἴκοι, τῆς τε τῶν πατρίων μνήμης ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ παντελῶς τὴν πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκεῖν, ἀποδεικνύναι σέ φημι χρῆναι.
3 αὐτὸς μέντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αἱροῦ, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ἢ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔτι τινὰ αὐτῶν ποιήσῃ,[3] στασιάσουσι γάρ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ, διασπουδάσονται γάρ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σφῶν τὰς ἀρχαίας τηρήσῃς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὖθις γένηται, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν φύλαξον, τῆς δ' ἰσχύος παράλυσον τοσοῦτον ὅσον μήτε τοῦ ἀξιώματός τι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτερίσαι
4 τι ἐθελήσουσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψει.[4] ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν

[1] περὶ μὲν L', μὲν περὶ V.
[2] στρατηγείτωσαν L', στρατηγήτωσαν V.
[3] ποιήσῃ St., ποιήσῃς VL'. [4] ἐπιτρέψει V, ἐπιτρέψῃ L'.

"But regarding this matter we shall at a later time examine more carefully the question of what measures should be taken to prevent our granting the people every privilege at once. As for the matter of eligibility for office, now, we should put men on the roll of knights when they are eighteen years old, for at that age their physical soundness and their mental fitness can best be discerned; but we should not enrol them in the senate until they are twenty-five years old. For is it not disgraceful, and indeed hazardous, to entrust the public business to men younger than this, when we never commit our private affairs to any one before he has reached this age? After they have served as quaestors and aediles or tribunes, let them be praetors when they reach the age of thirty. For it is my opinion that these offices, and that of consul, are the only ones at home which you ought to fill by election, and these merely out of regard for the institutions of our fathers and to avoid the appearance of making a complete change in the constitution. But make all the appointments yourself and do not any longer commit the filling of one or another of these offices either to the plebs or to the people,[1] for they will quarrel over them, or to the senate, for the senators will use them to further their private ambitions. And do not maintain the traditional powers of these offices, either, for fear history may repeat itself, but preserve the honour attaching to them, at the same time abating their influence to such an extent that, although you will be depriving the office of none of its prestige, you will still be giving no opportunity to those who may desire to stir up a rebellion. Now

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[1] *i.e.* to the *concilium plebis* or to the *comitia*.

τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήνῃς, καὶ μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καιρῷ ὅπλα τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσῃς μήτε εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ χρόνου διελθόντος, ὅσον ἂν αὐτάρκη ἑκάστῳ σφῶν νομίσῃς εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε τινὲς νεοχμώσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπανθήσονται. 5 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τάς τε πανηγύρεις, οἵ γε καὶ προσήκοντές σφισιν, ἐπιτελείτωσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἕκαστοι, πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐνδήμου ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ δικαζέτωσαν· συναγέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστήρια καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς ἐκείνους ἀνακείσθω.

21 "Πολίαρχος δὲ δή τις ἔκ τε τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προπεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω, οὐχ ἵνα ἀποδημησάντων που 2 τῶν ὑπάτων ἄρχῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τά τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατῇ, καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἶπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν ἂν εἴπω, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίων[1] σταδίων οἰκοῦσι κρίνῃ.

3 "Ἕτερός τέ τις ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὐτὸς αἱρείσθω ὥστε τά τε γένη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τούς τε

[1] ἑπτακοσίων Casaub., ἑξακοσίων VM.

this will be accomplished if you assign them on appointment chiefly to home affairs and do not permit any of them to have armed forces during their term of office or immediately afterward, but only after the lapse of some time, as much as you think sufficient in each instance. In this way they will never be put in command of legions while still enjoying the prestige of their official titles and thus be led to stir up rebellions, and after they have been private citizens for a time they will be of milder disposition. Let these magistrates conduct such of the festivals as naturally belong to their office, and let them all severally sit as judges in all kinds of cases except homicide during their tenure of office in Rome. Courts should be established, to be sure, with the other senators and knights as members, but final authority should rest with these magistrates. B.C. 29

"As for the prefect of the city, men should be appointed to that office who are leading citizens and have previously passed through the appropriate offices; it should be the prefect's duty, not to govern merely when the consuls are out of town, but in general to be at all times in charge of the affairs of the city, and to decide the cases which come to him from all the other magistrates I have mentioned, whether on appeal or for review, together with those which involve the death penalty; and his jurisdiction should extend, not only to those who live in the city, except such as I shall name, but also to those who dwell outside the city for a distance of one hundred miles.

"Let still another magistrate be chosen, this man also from the class described, whose duties shall be to pass upon and supervise all matters pertaining to

τρόπους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀνδρῶν τε ὁμοίως καὶ παίδων γυναικῶν τε τῶν προσηκουσῶν αὐτοῖς, ἐξετάζειν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ
4 τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν ὅσα μήτε τινὸς τιμωρίας ἄξιά ἐστι καὶ παρορώμενα πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτια γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ δὴ μείζω σοὶ ἐπικοινοῦσθαι. βουλευτῇ γάρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε ἀρίστῳ μετὰ τὸν πολίαρχον, μᾶλλόν ἤ τινι τῶν ἱππέων
5 προστετάχθαι τοῦτο δεῖ. καὶ τό γε ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς τιμαρχίας (πάντως γάρ σε προεστάναι τῶν τιμήσεων προσήκει) εἰκότως ἂν λάβοι, ὥστε ὑποτιμητὴς καλεῖσθαι. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ οἱ δύο οὗτοι[1] διὰ βίου, ἄν γε μὴ κακυνθῇ τις αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ ἢ καὶ νοσώδης ἢ καὶ ὑπεργήρως
6 γένηται. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χρονίου ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν ἂν δεινόν, ἅτε ὁ μὲν παντελῶς ἄοπλος ὤν, ὁ δ' ὀλίγους τε στρατιώτας ἔχων καὶ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς
7 ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλεῖστον ἄρχων, ἐργάσαιντο· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἐτείου[2] καὶ ὀκνήσειαν[3] ἂν προσκροῦσαί τινι καὶ φοβηθεῖεν ἐρρωμένως τι πρᾶξαι, τήν τε ἑαυτῶν ἰδιωτείαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλων[4] τινῶν δυναστείαν προορώμενοι. καὶ μισθόν γέ τινα φερέτωσαν καὶ τῆς ἀσχολίας ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως.
8 "Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ταύτην σοι τὴν γνώμην

[1] οὗτοι M, om. V.
[2] ἐτείου Sauppe, ἑτέρου VM.
[3] ὀκνήσειαν Dind., ὀκνήσαιεν VM.
[4] ἄλλων Leuncl., ἄλλην VM.

the families, property, and morals both of the senators B.C. 29 and of the knights, alike of the men and of their wives and children. He should personally correct such behaviour as deserves no punishment, yet if neglected becomes the cause of many evils; but about the more important matters of misconduct he should confer with you. For the officer to whom these duties are assigned should be a senator, and in fact the best one after the prefect of the city, rather than one of the knights. As for the title of his office, he would naturally receive one derived from your censorial functions (for it is certainly appropriate that you should be in charge of the censuses), and be called sub-censor.[1] Let these two, the city prefect and the sub-censor, hold office for life, unless one of them becomes demoralized in some way or is incapacitated by sickness or old age. For no harm could result from their holding office for life, since the one would be entirely without armed forces and the other would have but few soldiers and would be acting for the most part under your eyes; whereas the effect of the yearly tenure would be that they would shrink from offending any one and would be afraid to act with energy, since they would be looking ahead to their own retirement to private life and to the exercise of the power of the office by others. They should also draw a salary, not only to compensate them for the loss of their leisure but also to enhance the prestige of their office.

"This is the opinion I have to give you in regard

[1] Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 37. In practice there were six of them—three to nominate senators and three to hold a review of the knights.

δίδωμι, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατηγήσαντες ἀρχέτωσάν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις (πρὶν γὰρ στρατηγῆσαί σφας οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι· ἐκεῖνοι δ' ὑποστρατηγείτωσαν οἷς ἂν εἴπω, καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δεύτερον), εἶθ' οὕτως ὑπατευέτωσαν, ἄν γε καὶ ὀρθῶς διάρξωσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μείζους 22 ἡγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. ὧδε γὰρ συμβουλεύω σοι διατάξαι. τήν τε Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους οὖσαν, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τά τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς[1] ἠπείροις ὁμολογοῦντα ἡμῖν, κατάνειμον ἑκασταχόθι κατά τε γένη καὶ ἔθνη, τάς τε[2] πόλεις ἁπάσας, ὅσας γε καὶ αὔταρκές ἐστιν ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχε-2 σθαι· κἀνταῦθα στρατιώτας ἐγκατάστησον, καὶ ἄρχοντας καθ' ἑκάστους ἕνα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπὶ πᾶσι πέμπε, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων,[3] τὸν μὲν ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξιόντα, καὶ αὐτῷ τά τε ἰδιωτικὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρασκευὴ προσκείσθω, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τοῦτο πεποιηκότων, ὃς τά τε κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων διοικήσει καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξει, 3 πλὴν ὅσα ἀτιμίας ἢ θανάτου ἔχεται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐς μόνον τὸν ὑπατευκότα ἄρχοντα ἀνηκέτω, πλὴν περί τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις πρώτων· τούτους γὰρ δὴ ἑκατέρους μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ

[1] ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς VM. [2] τε supplied by Oddey.
[3] ἐπὶ πᾶσι—ἐστρατηγηκότων M, om. V.

to these officials. As for those who have served as praetors, let them hold some office among the subject nations (before they have been praetors I do not think they should have this privilege, but they ought first to serve for one or two terms as lieutenants to the ex-praetors just mentioned); then they should next hold office as consuls, provided that they have proved satisfactory officials to the end of their terms, and after that they should receive the more important governorships. I advise you, namely, to arrange these positions as follows. Take Italy as a whole (I mean the part of it which is more than one hundred miles from the city), and all the rest of the territory which owns our sway, the islands and the continents, and divide it into districts, in each case according to races and nations, and take also all the cities that are strong and independent enough to be ruled by one governor with full powers. Then station soldiers in them and send out as governor to each district or independent city one of the ex-consuls, who shall have general charge, and two of the ex-praetors. One of the latter, fresh from the city, should be put in charge of all matters pertaining to persons in private life and of the commissary; the other, a man who has had special training for this work, will administer the public business of the cities and will have command of the soldiers, except in cases that involve disfranchisement or death. Such cases, of course, should be referred to the ex-consul who is governor, and to him alone, except where the persons involved are centurions recruited from the levies or private persons of prominence in their respective communities; as for both these classes, do not allow anybody but yourself to punish them,

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κολάζειν ἐπιτρέψῃς, ἵνα μὴ οὕτω τινὰ αὐτῶν
4 φοβῶνται ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ τι πρᾶξαι. ὃ
δ' εἶπον, ὅτι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἐπὶ
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτετάχθαι δεῖ, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν.
ἂν μὲν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ξενικοῖς τείχεσιν ἢ καὶ ἐν
ἑνὶ πολιτικῷ στρατεύωνται, καλῶς ἔχει τοῦτο
γίγνεσθαι· ἂν δὲ δύο πολιτικὰ στρατεύματα ἐν
ταὐτῷ ἔθνει χειμάζῃ (πλείω γὰρ τούτων οὐκ ἂν
συμβουλεύσαιμί σοι τῷ αὐτῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτρέψαι),
5 δεήσει που τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας καὶ
ἐκείνων, ἰδίᾳ ἑκατέρου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε
πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ὁμοίως προΐστασθαι.
ὁ δ' οὖν ὑπατευκὼς ταῦτά τε . . .[1] καὶ προσέτι καὶ
τὰς δίκας τάς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους
τὰς ἀπὸ[2] τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῷ[3] φοιτώσας κρινέ-
6 τω. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς εἰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαῦτα
μέρη νεῖμαί σοι παραινῶ· πολλή τε γὰρ καὶ
πολυάνθρωπος οὖσα ἀδύνατός ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν
τῷ ἄστει ἀρχόντων καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι. δεῖ γὰρ
τοῖς τε δήμοις τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀεὶ παρεῖναι καὶ τοῖς
ἄρχουσι τὰ δυνατὰ προστάσσεσθαι.

23 "Λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μισθὸν πάντες οὗτοι οἱ τὰς
ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλείω μὲν
οἱ μείζους, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεέστεροι, μέσον δὲ
οἱ μέσοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἷόν τέ ἐστιν
αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἀποζῆν, οὔτ' ἀορίστῳ καὶ
2 ἀσταθμήτῳ ἀναλώματι ὥσπερ νῦν χρῆσθαι. καὶ
ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μή τις
ἀδικήσειέ τι, μήτε πλεῖον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἱ

[1] Lacuna recognised by Bk.
[2] ἀπὸ Rk., ὑπὸ VM.
[3] αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτοῦ VM.

lest they come to fear some of these officials to such an extent as to take measures, on occasion, against you as well as against them. As for my suggestion that the second of the ex-praetors should be put in charge of the soldiers, it is to be understood as follows: if only a small body of troops is serving abroad in the military posts or at home in a single post, my proposal is satisfactory; but if two citizen legions are wintering in the same province (and more than this number I should not advise you to trust to one commander), it will no doubt be necessary for both the ex-praetors to hold the command over them, each having charge of one, and for each to have his share of authority similarly in matters affecting either the state or private citizens. Let the ex-consul, accordingly, [have] these [duties], and let him also decide the cases which come to him on appeal and those which are referred to him by the praetors for review. And do not be surprised that I recommend to you the dividing of Italy also into these administrative districts. It is large and populous, and so cannot possibly be well administered by the magistrates in the city; for a governor ought always to be present in the district he governs, and no duties should be laid upon our city magistrates which they cannot perform. B.C. 29

"Let all these men to whom the commands outside the city are assigned receive salaries, the more important officers more, the less important less, and those between an intermediate amount. For they cannot live in a foreign land upon their own resources, nor should they indulge, as they do now, in unlimited and indefinite expenditure. They should hold office not less than three years, unless they are guilty of misconduct, nor more than five. The reason is that

ἐνιαύσιοι καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάξασαί τινας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπέμπουσι πρίν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αἱ μακρότεραι καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι ἐπαίρουσί πως πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς νεωτεροποιίαν
3 ἐξάγουσι. διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας οἶμαί τισι προσήκειν[1] δίδοσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι ἄν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνει ἄν τε καὶ ἐν πλείοσιν ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἄρχωσι· καὶ ἀμείνονες γίγνονται, ἐπειδὰν διαλίπωσί[2] τέ τινα χρόνον καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθωσι καὶ ἰδιωτεύσωσι.

"Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς[3] ταῦτά τε καὶ οὕτω
24 διέπειν φημὶ χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων δύο τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς περὶ σὲ φρουρᾶς ἄρχειν· τό τε γὰρ ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν καὶ τὸ
2 πλείοσι ταραχῶδές ἐστι. δύο τε οὖν ἔστωσαν οἱ ἔπαρχοι οὗτοι, ἵν' ἂν καὶ ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαίσθηταί τι τῷ σώματι, μήτι[4] γε καὶ ἐνδεὴς τοῦ φυλάξοντός σε εἴης· καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
3 διῳκηκότων. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ[5] τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντων, ὥστε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἄρχουσι προστετα-
4 γμένων. τούτους μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι δικαιού-

[1] προσήκειν Bk., προσῆκον VM.
[2] διαλίπωσί Bk., διαλείπωσί VM.
[3] οὖν βουλευτὰς Bs., συμβουλευτὰς VM.
[4] μήτι Dind., μήτοι VM. [5] δὴ M, om. V.

offices held for only one year or for short periods merely teach the officials their bare duties and then dismiss them before they can put any of their acquired knowledge into use, while, on the other hand, the longer terms of many years' duration somehow have the effect, in many cases, of filling the officials with conceit and encouraging them to rebellion. Hence, again, I think that the more important posts ought in no case to be given consecutively to the same man. For it makes no difference whether a man is governor in the same province or in several in succession, if he holds office for a period longer than is advisable; besides, appointees improve when there is an interval between their incumbencies during which they return home and resume the life of ordinary citizens.

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"As regards the senators, therefore, I declare that they ought to discharge the duties named and in the way described. Of the knights the two best should command the bodyguard which protects you, for it is hazardous to entrust it to one man, and sure to lead to confusion to entrust it to more than two. Therefore let the number of these prefects be two, in order that, if one of them feel indisposed, you may still not lack a person to guard you. And men should be appointed to this office who have served in many military campaigns and have, besides, held many administrative positions. And they should have command both of the Pretorians and of all the other soldiers in Italy, with power even to put to death any of them who do wrong, with the exception of the centurions and of those in general who have been assigned to the staffs of magistrates of senatorial rank. For these soldiers should be tried by the

τωσαν, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως σφίσι χρῆσθαι, ἅτε καὶ κολάσαι καὶ τιμῆσαί σφας ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, δύνωνται· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιωτῶν οἱ ἔπαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι προστατείτωσαν, ὑπάρχους ἔχοντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων[1] τῶν τε ἐν τῇ θεραπείᾳ σου ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
5 τῶν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ προσήκοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη αὐτοῖς διάγειν ἔσται,[2] ἵνα μὴ καὶ πλείω πράγματα ὧν καλῶς φέρειν δυνήσονται ἐπιταχθέντες ἄσχολοι πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἢ καὶ ἀδύνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προΐστασθαι γένωνται.
6 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ βίου, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ πολίαρχος ὅ θ' ὑποτιμητής, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχέτωσαν· νυκτοφύλαξ δὲ ἕτερος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου τῆς τε ἀγορᾶς τῆς λοιπῆς ἕτερος ἔκ τε τῶν ἱππέων τῶν πρώτων μετ' ἐκείνους καὶ ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀποδεικνύσθωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ
25 προχειριζόμενοι. τάς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων, τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς λέγω, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τὰς
2 ἔξω πάσας οἱ ἱππῆς[3] διαχειριζέτωσαν, καὶ μισθὸν οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους διοικοῦντές τι, οἱ μὲν πλείονα οἱ δὲ ἐλάττονα,[4] πρός τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
3 πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι[5] οὐχ οἷόν τέ

[1] Καισαρείων H. Steph., καισαρίων VM.
[2] διάγειν ἔσται Bs., διαγίνεσθαι VM.
[3] ἱππῆς M (ἱππῆις), ἱππεῖς V.
[4] ἐλάττονα R. Steph., τὸν ἐλάττονα VM.
[5] ὅτι M, om. V.

senatorial magistrates themselves, in order that the latter, by virtue of the authority they would thus possess of dealing out punishments to them as well as honours, may be able to command their unhesitating support. Over all the other soldiers in Italy, however, the prefects I have mentioned should be in command, having lieutenants under them, and likewise over the Caesarians, both those who are in attendance upon you and such of the others as are of any account. These duties will be both fitting and sufficient for them to discharge, for if they have more responsibilities assigned to them than they are able to carry satisfactorily, there is danger that they may have no time for the essential things, or, if they have, may prove incompetent to exercise oversight over all their duties. These prefects also should hold office for life, like the prefect of the city and the sub-censor. Let another official be appointed to be commander of the night-watch [1] and still another to be commissioner of grain [2] and of the market in general, both of them from the equestrian order and the best men after the prefects, and let them hold their posts for a definite term, like the magistrates elected from the senatorial class. The management of the public funds, also,—I mean both those of the people and those of the empire, not only in Rome but also in the rest of Italy and outside Italy,—should be entirely in the hands of the knights, and they, as well as all the other members of the equestrian order who are charged with an administrative position, should be on salary, greater or less in proportion to the dignity and importance of their duties. The reason for the second part of this suggestion is that it is not possible

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[1] *Praefectus vigilum.* [2] *Praefectus annonae.*

ἐστιν αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ πενεστέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν ὄντας, ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τι πράττοντας, ἀναλίσκειν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὅτι μήτε δυνατὸν μήτε συμφέρον ἐστί σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν τε[1] *δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυρίους γίγνεσθαι.*

4 *πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ καλῶς ἔχει διὰ πλειόνων πάντα τὰ τῇ*[2] *ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διάγεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ὠφελῶνται ἅμα συχνοὶ καὶ ἔμπειροι τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνωνται· οὕτω γὰρ οἵ τε ἀρχόμενοι μᾶλλον εὐνοήσουσί σοι, πολυειδῆ ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν καρπούμενοι, καὶ σὺ ἀφθονώτατα τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα χρήσῃ.*

5 *ἀπόχρη δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ πόλει καθ' ἕκαστον χρηματίσεως εἶδος, ἔξω δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, εἷς τις ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, ὑπομείονας ὅσους ἂν ἡ χρεία ἀπαιτῇ*[3] *ἔκ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων σου ἔχων· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς συζευγνύναι σφίσιν, ἵνα ἥ τε θεραπεία σου ἆθλόν τι ἀρετῆς ἔχῃ, καὶ σὺ μὴ ἀπορῇς παρ' ὧν καὶ ἀκόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἄν γέ τι πλημμεληθῇ, μαθεῖν δυνήσῃ.*

6 *"Ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἱππέων διὰ πολλῶν διεξελθὼν ἐλλόγιμος ὥστε καὶ βουλεῦσαι γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ ἡλικία ἐμποδιζέτω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κἂν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὦσι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ*

7 *τεταγμένῳ ἐστρατευμένων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν*

[1] τε M, om. V. [2] τὰ τῇ M, τὰ ἐν τῇ V.
[3] ἀπαιτῇ V, ἀπαιτεῖ M.

for the knights, since they are poorer than the senators, to meet their expenditures out of their own means, even when their duties keep them in Rome, and for the first point, that it is neither practicable nor to your interest that the same men should be given authority over both the troops and the public funds. And, furthermore, it is well that the whole business of the empire should be transacted by a number of agents, in order that many may at the same time receive the benefits and gain experience in public affairs; for in this way your subjects, reaping a manifold enjoyment of the common blessings, will be more favourably disposed towards you, and you will have at your disposal in the largest measure those who are at any particular time the best men for all urgent needs. One official of the equestrian order is sufficient for each branch of the fiscal service in the city, and, outside the city, for each province, each one of them to have as many subordinates, drawn from the knights and from your own freedmen, as the needs of the case demand; for you need to associate with the officials such assistants in order that your service may offer a prize for merit, and that you may not lack those from whom you may learn the truth, even contrary to their wishes, in case any irregularity is committed.

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"If any of the knights, after passing through many branches of the service, distinguishes himself enough to become a senator, his age ought not to hinder him at all from being enrolled in the senate. Indeed, some knights should be received into the senate, even if they have seen service only as company commanders in the citizen legions, except such as have served in the rank and file. For it is both a shame

καὶ φορμοφορησάντων καὶ λαρκοφορησάντων καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπονείδιστόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ τινας ἐξετάζεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατονταρχησάντων οὐδὲν κωλύει τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν.

26 "Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων ταῦτά σοι συμβουλεύειν ἔχω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα,[1] ἵνα ἕως τε ἔτι παῖδές εἰσιν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα συμφοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια ἐκβάλωσιν, ἐπί τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα τρέπωνται, διδασκάλους ἑκατέρων δημοσιεύοντας 2 ἐμμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὕτω γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πάνθ' ὅσα χρὴ ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτηδειότεροί σοι πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον γενήσονται. τὸν γὰρ ἄρχοντα τὸν ἄριστον, οὗ τέ τι ὄφελός ἐστι, δεῖ[2] μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως ὡς ὅτι βέλτιστοι 3 γίγνωνται, προνοεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρξειεν ἄν σοι οὐκ ἂν ἐάσας[3] αὐτοὺς ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ἔπειτ' ἐπιτιμᾷς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἂν πρίν τι πλημμελεῖσθαι, προδιδάσκῃς πάνθ' ὅσα ἀσκήσαντες χρησιμώτεροι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ σοὶ γενήσονται, καὶ μηδενί γε τὸ παράπαν πρόφασιν 4 παρέχῃς,[4] μήτε διὰ πλοῦτον μήτε δι' εὐγένειαν μήτε δι' ἄλλο τι ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενον, ῥᾳθυμίαν ἢ μαλακίαν ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευσίν τινα κίβδηλον προσποιεῖσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ

[1] καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα M, om. V.
[2] δεῖ flor., δεῖν VM.
[3] οὐκ ἂν ἐάσας Rk., οὐκ ἂν ἐάσῃς VM flor. (cod. B), εἰ οὐκ ἂν ἐάσῃς flor. (cod. A).
[4] παρέχῃς R. Steph., παρέχοις VM.

and a reproach that men of this sort, who have carried faggots and charcoal, should be found on the roll of the senate; but in the case of knights who began their service with the rank of centurion, there is nothing to prevent the most notable of them from belonging to the senate.

"With regard, then, to the senators and the knights, this is the advice I have to give you,—yes, and this also, that while they are still children they should attend the schools, and when they come out of childhood into youth[1] they should turn their minds to horses and to arms, and have paid public teachers in each of these departments. In this way from their very boyhood they will have had both instruction and practice in all that they will themselves be required to do on reaching manhood, and will thus prove more serviceable to you for every undertaking. For the best ruler,—the ruler who is worth anything,—should not only perform himself all the duties which devolve upon him, but should make provision for the rest also, that they may become as excellent as possible. And this title can be yours, not if you allow them to do whatever they please and then censure those who err, but if, before any mistakes are made, you give them instruction in everything the practice of which will render them more useful both to themselves and to you, and if you afford nobody any excuse whatever, either wealth or nobility of birth or any other attribute of excellence, for affecting indolence or effeminacy or any other behaviour that is counterfeit. For many persons, fearing that, by reason of

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[1] The Greek term indicates approximately the age of fourteen.

τοιοῦτό τι καὶ φθονηθῶσι καὶ κινδυνεύσωσι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ ἀσφα-
5 λέστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν βιωσόμενοι· κἀκ τούτου ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλεοῦνται ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀδικούμενοι, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐξεῖναί σφισιν ὀρθῶς ζῆν, τῷ δ' ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν καὶ ζημία ἅμα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν στερομένῳ καὶ κακοδοξία τῆς αἰτιάσεως συμβαίνει. μήτ' οὖν περιίδῃς ποτὲ τοῦτο πραχθέν, μήτ' αὖ δείσῃς ὅτι τραφείς τέ τις καὶ παιδευθεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ
6 λέγω[1] νεώτερόν τι τολμήσει. πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον τούς τε ἀμαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς ὑποτοπεῖν δεῖ·[2] οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πάντα ἁπλῶς καὶ τὰ αἴσχιστα καὶ τὰ δεινότατα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, ῥᾳδίως ποιεῖν προάγονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ καλῶς τραφέντες τε καὶ παιδευθέντες οὔτ' ἄλλον τινὰ ἀδικεῖν προαιροῦνται, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα τὸν τῆς τε τροφῆς καὶ τῆς παι-
7 δείας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθέντα. ἂν δ' οὖν τις καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἀχάριστος γένηται, μηδὲν αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψῃς ἐξ οὗ δεινόν τι δρᾶσαι δυνήσεται· κἂν γε καὶ ὣς νεοχμώσῃ τι, καὶ ἐλεγχθήτω καὶ κολασθήτω. μὴ γὰρ δὴ φοβηθῇς ὅτι σὲ αἰτιάσεταί τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἄν γε πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα πράττῃς.
8 σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτήσῃ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τιμωρησάμενος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς καύσας τινὰ καὶ τεμών· ἐκεῖνον δὲ δὴ πάντες δικαιώσουσιν,

[1] λέγω R. Steph., λέγων VM. [2] δεῖ M, δὴ V.

some such advantage, they may incur jealousy or danger, do many things that are unworthy of themselves, expecting by such behaviour to live in greater security. As a consequence, not only do they, on their part, become objects of pity as being victims of injustice in precisely this respect, that men believe that they are deprived of the opportunity of leading upright lives, but their ruler also, on his part, suffers not only a loss, in that he is robbed of men who might have been good, but also ill-repute, because he is blamed for the others' condition. Therefore never permit this thing to happen, and have no fear, on the other hand, that anyone who has been reared and educated as I propose will ever venture upon a rebellion. On the contrary, it is the ignorant and licentious that you should suspect; for it is such persons who are easily influenced to do absolutely any and every thing, even the most disgraceful and outrageous, first toward themselves and then toward others, whereas those who have been well reared and educated do not deliberately do wrong to any one else and least of all to the one who has cared for their rearing and education. If, however, one of these does show himself wicked and ungrateful, you have merely to refuse to entrust him with any position of such a kind as will enable him to do any mischief; and if even so he rebels, let him be convicted and punished. You need not, I assure you, be afraid that anyone will blame you for this, provided that you carry out all my injunctions. For in taking vengeance on the wrongdoer you will be guilty of no sin, any more than the physician is who resorts to cautery and surgery; but all men will assuredly say that the offender has got his deserts,

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ὅτι καὶ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ἄλλοις μετασχὼν ἐπεβούλευσέ σοι.

"Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς βουλευτὰς τούς τε ἱππέας 27 ταῦτα γιγνέσθω· τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἀθανάτους, ἔκ τε τῶν πολιτῶν κἀκ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων, τῇ μὲν πλείους τῇ δὲ ἐλάττους, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ὅπως ἂν ἡ χρεία τῶν πραγμάτων 2 ἀπαιτῇ, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀεί τε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, χειμάδιά τε ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις κατεσκευασμένους καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, ὥστε τι αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸ 3 τοῦ γήρως τῆς ἡλικίας περιεῖναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν βοηθείαις τισὶν ἔτι χρῆσθαι δυνάμεθα, αὐτοί τε τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσχατιῶν ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ πολεμίους ἑκασταχόθι προσοικοῦντας ἔχοντες· ἄν τε ἐπιτρέψωμεν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὖσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐμπολέμια ἀσκεῖν, στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι 4 ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμφύλιοι ἀεὶ γενήσονται. καὶ μέντοι κἂν κωλύσαντές σφας ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔπειτα συμμαχίας τινὸς παρ' αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, κινδυνεύσομεν[1] ἀπείροις τε καὶ ἀγυμνάστοις στρατιώταις ἀεὶ χρώμενοι. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνώμην ποιοῦμαι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἄνευ τε ὅπλων καὶ ἄνευ τειχῶν ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ βίου μάλιστα δεομένους καταλέγεσθαί τε καὶ ἀσκεῖν. 5 αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἄμεινον πολεμήσουσι τούτῳ μόνῳ

[1] κινδυνεύσομεν R. Steph., κινδυνεύσωμεν VM.

because, after partaking of the same rearing and education as the rest, he plotted against you. B.C. 29

"Let this be your procedure, then, in the case of the senators and the knights. A standing army also should be supported, drawn from the citizens, the subject nations, and the allies, its size in the several provinces being greater or less according as the necessities of the case demand; and these troops ought always to be under arms and to engage in the practice of warfare continually. They should have winter-quarters constructed for them at the most advantageous points, and should serve for a stated period, so that a portion of life may still be left for them between their retirement from service and old age. The reason for such a standing army is this: far removed as we are from the frontiers of the empire, with enemies living near our borders on every side, we are no longer able at critical times to depend upon expeditionary forces; and if, on the other hand, we permit all the men of military age to have arms and to practise warfare, they will always be the source of seditions and civil wars. If, however, we prevent them from all making arms their profession and afterwards need their aid in war, we shall be exposed to danger, since we shall never have anything but inexperienced and untrained soldiers to depend upon. For these reasons I give it as my opinion that, while in general the men of military age should have nothing to do with arms and walled camps during their lives, the hardiest of them and those most in need of a livelihood should be enlisted as soldiers and given a military training. For they will fight better if they devote their time to this one

τῷ ἔργῳ σχολάζοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ῥᾷον γεωργήσουσι καὶ ναυτιλοῦνται τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ εἰρήνῃ προσήκοντα πράξουσι μήτε ἐκβοηθεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενοι καὶ προφύλακάς σφων ἑτέρους ἔχοντες, τό τε ἀκμαιότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἐκ λῃστείας μάλιστα ζῆν ἀναγκαζόμενον ἀλύπως τραφήσεται, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ἀκινδύνως βιώσεται.

28 *"Πόθεν οὖν χρήματα καὶ ἐς τούτους καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἀναγκαίως ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο διδάξω, σμικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ὑπειπών, ὅτι κἂν δημοκρατηθῶμεν, πάντως που χρημάτων δεησόμεθα·*[1] *οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε οὔτ' ἄνευ στρατιωτῶν ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι οὔτ' ἀμισθί*[2] *τινας*[3] *στρατεύ-*
2 *εσθαι. μὴ οὖν ὡς καὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ μόνῃ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τῶν χρημάτων ἀθροίσεως προσηκούσης βαρυνώμεθα, μηδὲ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀποτρεπώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πάντως ἀναγκαῖον ὂν ἡμῖν, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν πολιτευώμεθα, καὶ ἀργυ-*
3 *ρίζεσθαί τινα, οὕτω*[4] *βουλευώμεθα. φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναί σε πρῶτον μὲν ἁπάντων τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὄντα (πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεγονότα) πωλῆσαι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνυ χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ τόκοις*
4 *ἐκδανεῖσαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἥ τε γῆ ἐνεργὸς ἔσται, δεσπόταις αὐτουργοῖς δοθεῖσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες εὐπορώτεροι γενήσονται, τό τε*

[1] **δεησόμεθα** Dind., **δεηθησόμεθα** VM.
[2] **ἀμισθί** St., **ἀμισθεί** VM.
[3] **τινας** M, **τινα** V. [4] **οὕτω** M, **οὕτως** V.

business, and the rest will find it easier to carry on B.C. 29 their farming, seafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest will live without incurring dangers.

"From what source, then, is the money to be provided for these soldiers and for the other expenses that will of necessity be incurred? I shall explain this point also, prefacing it with a brief reminder that even if we have a democracy we shall in any case, of course, need money. For we cannot survive without soldiers, and men will not serve as soldiers without pay. Therefore let us not be oppressed by the idea that the necessity of raising money belongs only to a monarchy, and let us not be led by that consideration to turn our backs upon this form of government, but let us assume in our deliberations that, under whatever form of government we shall live, we shall certainly be constrained to secure funds. My proposal, therefore, is that you shall first of all sell the property that belongs to the state,—and I observe that this has become vast on account of the wars,—reserving only a little that is distinctly useful or necessary to you; and that you lend out all the money thus realized at a moderate rate of interest. In this way not only will the land be put under cultivation, being sold to owners who will cultivate it themselves, but also the latter will acquire a capital and become more prosperous, while the treasury will gain a permanent revenue that will

δημόσιον διαρκῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον πρόσοδον ἕξει. εἶτα συλλογίσασθαι ταῦτά τε καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἔκ τε μεταλλείας καὶ εἰ δή ποθεν ἄλλοθεν βεβαίως 5 δύναται προσιέναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀντιλογίσασθαι μὴ μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τἆλλα πάντα δι' ὧν καλῶς πόλις οἰκεῖται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὅσα ἔς τε τὰς αἰφνιδίους στρατείας καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα εἴωθεν ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβαίνειν, ἀναγ-6 καῖον ἔσται δαπανᾶσθαι· κἀκ τούτου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεῖπον φόρον τε ἐπιτάξαι πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς ἐπικαρπίαν[1] τινὰ τῷ κεκτημένῳ αὐτὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ τέλη καταστῆσαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ὧν ἄρχομεν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ προσῆκόν ἐστι μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀτελῆ εἶναι, μὴ ἰδιώτην, μὴ δῆμον, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ὠφελίας τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις 7 ἀπολαύσοντας[2]), καί σφων ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπιτροπεύσοντας ἑκασταχόθι ποιῆσαι, ὥστε αὐτοὺς πᾶν τὸ τῷ τῆς ἐπιτροπείας αὐτῶν χρόνῳ προσῆκον ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν προσόδων ἐσπράττειν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις ῥᾴω τὴν ἔσπραξιν ποιήσει καὶ τοῖς διδοῦσί τι ὠφελίαν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην παρέξει· 8 λέγω δὲ τὸ[3] κατ' ὀλίγον σφας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὅσα ὀφείλουσιν ἐσφέρειν, καὶ μή, βραχὺν ῥαθυμήσαντας χρόνον, ἐπικεφαλαιωθέντα πάντα ἐσάπαξ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.

29 "Καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ τῶν τελῶν καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οἶδα ὅτι, ἂν μήτε προσεπηρεάζωνται καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ

[1] ἐπικαρπίαν M, ἐπὶ καρτίαν V.
[2] ἀπολαύσοντας R. Steph., ἀπολαύσαντας VM.
[3] τὸ R. Steph., τοῦ VM.

suffice for its needs. In the second place, I advise you to make an estimate of the revenues from this source and of all the other revenues which can with certainty be derived from the mines or any other source, and then to make and balance against this a second estimate of all the expenses, not only those of the army, but also of all those which contribute to the well-being of a state, and furthermore of those which will necessarily be incurred for unexpected campaigns and the other needs which are wont to arise in an emergency. The next step is to provide for any deficiency by levying an assessment upon absolutely all property which produces any profit for its possessors, and by establishing a system of taxes among all the peoples we rule. For it is but just and proper that no individual or district be exempt from these taxes, inasmuch as they are to enjoy the benefits derived from the taxation as much as the rest. And you should appoint tax-collectors to have supervision of this business in each district, and cause them to exact the entire amount that falls due during the term of their supervision from all the sources of revenue. This plan will not only render the work of collection easier for these officials, but will in particular benefit the tax-payers, inasmuch, I mean, as these will bring in what they owe in the small instalments appointed, whereas now, if they are remiss for a brief period, the entire sum is added up and demanded of them in a single payment. B.C. 29

"I am not unaware that some will object if this system of assessments and taxes is established. But I know this, too,—that if they are subjected to no further abuses and are indeed convinced that all these contributions of theirs will make for their own

ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας σφῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ
2 ἀδεῶς καρποῦσθαι συνεσοίσουσι, καὶ προσέτι[1] τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι, λήψονται, καὶ πάνυ πολλὴν χάριν εἴσονταί σοι, βραχέα ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἂν μηδὲν ἐπηρεαζόμενοι καρπῶνται διδόντες, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὁρῶσί σε σωφρόνως τε διαιτώμενον καὶ
3 μηδὲν μάτην παραναλίσκοντα. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἰδών σε πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεῖα φειδωλότατον πρὸς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἀφειδέστατον ὄντα, ἐθελοντὶ συντελέσειέ τι, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σὲ πλουτεῖν εἶναι νομίζων;

30 "Χρήματα μὲν δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἐκ τούτων ὑπάρξειεν ἄν· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον διοικεῖν σοι παραινῶ. τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμει πάσῃ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ εἴδει πανηγύρεων· προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρός τε τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατά-
2 πληξιν. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὧδε δίεπε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δῆμοι μήτε κύριοί τινος ἔστωσαν μήτε ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ παράπαν φοιτάτωσαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγαθὸν[2] οὐδὲν φρονήσειαν ἂν καὶ συχνὰ ἂν ἀεὶ[3] ταράξειαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν δῆμον οὔτε[4] ἐς δικαστήριον οὔτε ἐς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οὔτε ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τοιοῦτον σύλλογον ἐν ᾧ τι καὶ χρηματι-

[1] προσέτι R. Steph., πρὸς ἐπὶ VM.
[2] ἀγαθὸν M, om. V.
[3] ἀεὶ M, om. V.
[4] οὔτε R. Steph., οὐδὲ VM.

security and for their fearless enjoyment of the rest of their property, and that, again, the larger part of their contributions will be received by none but themselves, as governors, procurators, or soldiers, they will be exceedingly grateful to you, since they will be giving but a slight portion of the abundance from which they derive the benefit without having to submit to abuses. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. For who, if he saw that you were quite frugal in your expenditures for yourself and quite lavish in those for the commonwealth, would not willingly contribute, believing that your wealth meant his own security and prosperity? B.C. 29

"So far as funds are concerned, therefore, a great abundance would be supplied from these sources. And I advise you to conduct as follows the administration of such matters as have not yet been mentioned. Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror. The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil. Hence it is my opinion that our populace here in Rome, for that matter, should not come together either as a court or to hold the elections, or indeed in any meeting whose object is

3 σθῆναι δεῖ, συνιέναι φημὶ χρῆναι. ἔπειτα δὲ μήτ' οἰκοδομημάτων πλήθεσιν ἢ καὶ[1] μεγέθεσιν ὑπὲρ τἀναγκαῖα χρήσθωσαν, μήτ' ἀγώνων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναλώμασι δαπανάσθωσαν, ἵνα μήτε σπουδαῖς ματαίαις ἐκτρύχωνται μήτε φιλοτιμίαις

4 ἀλόγοις πολεμῶνται. ἐχέτωσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ θεωρίας τινάς, χωρὶς τῆς ἱπποδρομίας τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ποιουμένης, μὴ μέντοι ὥστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένον τέ τινα ἀναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ σίτησιν ἀθάνατον πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα νικήσασι δίδοσθαι.

5 τούς τε γὰρ εὐπόρους ἄλογόν ἐστιν ἔξω τι τῶν πατρίδων ἀναγκαστοὺς δαπανᾶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἆθλα τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις αὐτῶν Ὀλύμπια ἢ

6 Πύθια ἤ τινα ἐνταῦθα ἀγῶνα ἀνέλοιτο·[2] τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους μόνους σιτεῖσθαι δεῖ, ἵνα μήτε αἱ πόλεις μάτην ἐπιτρίβωνται μήτε ἔξω τις τῶν ἀξιονίκων ἀσκῇ, δυνάμενος ἄλλο τι χρησιμώτερον καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ μετιέναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων

7 ταῦτα γιγνώσκω, τὰς δ' ἱπποδρομίας τὰς ἄνευ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιτελουμένας οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἄλλῃ τινὶ πόλει ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅπως μήτε χρήματα παμπληθῆ εἰκῇ παραπολλύηται μήθ'

[1] καὶ M, om. V.
[2] ἀνέλοιτο Rk., ἂν ἕλοιτο V, ἂν ἕλοιτο M.

to transact business. In the second place, the cities B.C. 29 should not indulge in public buildings unnecessarily numerous or large, nor waste their resources on expenditures for a large number and variety of public games, lest they exhaust themselves in futile exertions and be led by unreasonable rivalries to quarrel among themselves. They ought, indeed, to have their festivals and spectacles,—to say nothing of the Circensian games held here in Rome,—but not to such an extent that the public treasury or the estates of private citizens shall be ruined thereby, or that any stranger resident there shall be compelled to contribute to their expense, or that maintenance for life shall be granted to every one without exception who has won a victory in a contest. For it is unreasonable that the well-to-do should be put under compulsion to spend their money outside their own countries; and as for the competitors in the games, the prizes which are offered in each event are enough, unless a man wins in the Olympian or Pythian games or in some contest here in Rome. For these are the only victors who ought to receive their maintenance, and then the cities will not be wearing themselves out to no purpose nor will any athlete go into training except those who have a chance of winning; the rest will be able to follow some occupation that will be more profitable both to themselves and to the commonwealth. This is my opinion about these matters. But as to the horse-races in connection with which there are no gymnastic contests,[1] I think that no city but Rome should be permitted to have them, the object being to prevent the wanton dissipation of vast sums of money and to

[1] He has reference to the Circensian games in Rome.

οἱ ἄνθρωποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνωνται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἵν' οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἵπποις ἀφθό-
8 νως χρῆσθαι ἔχωσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύω παντάπασι μηδαμόθι ἄλλοθι πλὴν ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ἵν' εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὡς ἕκαστοι ποιούμενοι καὶ σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἀστασιαστότερον διάγωσι.

9 "Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν· μήτε πρεσβείαν τινὰ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ πρᾶγμά τι διαγνώσεως ἐχόμενον εἴη, πεμπέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἄρχοντί σφων δηλούτωσαν ὅσα βούλονται, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου[1] σοι[2] τὰς ἀξιώσεις, ὅσας ἂν δοκιμάσῃ, προσφερέτωσαν.
10 οὕτω γὰρ οὔτ' ἀναλώσουσί τι οὔτ' αἰσχρῶς διαπράξονται, ἀλλ' ἀκεραίους τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄνευ δαπάνης ἢ καὶ πραγματείας τινὸς λήψονται.

31 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τἆλλα ὧδ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖς[3] ἄριστα διατάξαι, ἂν πρῶτον μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τάς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγῃς (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ ἀξιόλογόν ἐστι τό τε τὴν βουλὴν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς

[1] ἐκείνου M, ἐκείνους V. [2] σοι V, σου M.
[3] δοκεῖς Bk., δοκῇς VM.

keep the populace from becoming deplorably crazed over such a sport, and, above all, to give those who are serving in the army an abundant supply of the best horses. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I would altogether forbid the holding of such races anywhere else than here in Rome; as to the other games, I have proposed to keep them within bounds, in order that each community, by putting upon an inexpensive basis its entertainments for both eye and ear, may live with greater moderation and less factious strife. B.C. 29

"None of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours. They should send no embassy to you, unless its business is one that involves a judicial decision; they should rather make what representations they will to their governor and through him bring to your attention such of their petitions as he shall approve. In this way they will be spared expense and be prevented from resorting to crooked practices to gain their object; and the answers they receive will be uncontaminated by their agents and will involve no expense or red tape.

"Moreover (to pass to other matters), it seems to me that you would be adopting the best arrangement if you should, in the first place, introduce before the senate the embassies which come from the enemy and from those under treaty with us, whether kings or democracies; for, among other considerations, it is both awe-inspiring and calculated to arouse comment for the impression to prevail that the senate has full authority in all matters and for all men to be fully aware that those envoys who are unfair in their

ἀντιπάλους τοῖς ἀγνωμονοῦσιν αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι),
2 ἔπειτα δὲ ἂν πάντα τὰ νομοθετούμενα δι' αὐτῶν ποιῇ, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἄλλο ἐπὶ πάντας ὁμοίως φέρῃ πλὴν τῶν ἐκείνης δογμάτων· οὕτω γὰρ τό τε ἀξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μᾶλλον ἂν βεβαιοῖτο, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τἀκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα καὶ διάδηλα πᾶσιν ἅμα γίγνοιτο.[1]
3 τρίτον, ἂν τούς τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν, ἄν ποτέ τινα αἰτίαν βαρυτέραν, ὥστε τὸν ἁλόντα σφῶν ἀτιμίαν ἢ φυγὴν ἢ καὶ θάνατον ὀφλεῖν, λάβωσιν, ὑπό τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ὑπάγῃς μηδὲν
4 προκαταγνούς, καὶ ἐκείνῳ πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διαψήφισιν ἀκέραιον ἐπιτρέπῃς, ἵν' οἵ τε ἀδικοῦντές τι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις ἐλεγχόμενοι κολάζωνται χωρὶς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες βελτίους γίγνωνται φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι.

5 "Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περὶ ὧν οἵ τε νόμοι κεῖνται καὶ αἱ κρίσεις αἱ κατ' αὐτοὺς γίγνονται, λέγω. τὸ γὰρ ὅτι τις ἐλοιδόρησέ σε ἢ καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶπε, μήτ' ἀκούσῃς ποτὲ κατηγοροῦντός τινος μήτε
6 ἐπεξέλθῃς. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν ὅτι τις μήτε τι ἀδικοῦντά σε καὶ εὐεργετοῦντα πάντας

[1] γίγνοιτο St., γίγνοιντο VM.

dealings will have many to oppose them. In the second place, you would do well to have all your legislation enacted by the senate, and to enforce no measure whatever upon all the people alike except the decrees of this body. In this way the dignity of the empire would be more securely established and the judgments rendered in accordance with the laws would instantly be free from all dispute or uncertainty in the eyes of all the people. In the third place, it would be well in the case of the members of the senatorial order who are actually members of the senate,[1] their children, and their wives, if ever they are charged with a serious offence for which the penalty on conviction would be disfranchisement, exile, or even death, that you should bring the matter before the senate without prejudgment against the accused, and should commit to that body the entire decision uninfluenced by your opinion. The purpose of this is, that the guilty, thus tried by a jury consisting solely of their peers, may be punished without there being any resentment against you, and that the others, seeing this, may mend their ways through fear of being publicly pilloried themselves. B.C. 29

"These suggestions have to do only with those offences regarding which laws have been established and judgments are rendered in accordance with these laws. For as to a charge that some one has vilified you or in some other way has used unseemly language regarding you, I would have you neither listen to the accuser nor follow up the accusation. For it is disgraceful for you to believe that any one has wantonly insulted you if you are indeed doing no

[1] As distinguished from those of the senatorial order who have not yet gained admission to the senate.

προεπηλάκισε, καὶ μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κακῶς ἄρχοντες· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ τὸ πιστὸν
7 *τῶν λεγομένων εἰρῆσθαι τεκμαίρονται· δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλεπαίνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἃ εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ εἴη, κρεῖττόν ἐστι μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πολλοί γε ἤδη διὰ τούτου πολὺ πλείω καὶ χαλεπώτερα λογοποιεῖσθαι καθ'*
8 *ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν λόγῳ τι προπηλακίζειν αἰτιαζομένων ταῦτ' ἐγὼ φρονῶ· κρείττω τε γὰρ καὶ ὑψηλότερον πάσης ὕβρεως εἶναί σε χρή, καὶ μηδ' ἐς ἔννοιάν ποτε μήτ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους προάγειν ὅτι δύναταί τις ἀσελγᾶναί τι ἐς σέ, ἵν' ὡς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὕτω[1] καὶ περὶ σοῦ φρονῶσιν ὅτι σεπτὸς*
9 *εἶ. ἂν δὲ δή τις ἐπιβουλεύειν σοι αἰτίαν λάβῃ (γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον), αὐτὸς μὲν μηδὲ περὶ ἐκείνου τι μήτε δικάσῃς μήτε προδιαγνῷς (ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγορον καὶ δικαστὴν γίγνεσθαι), ὑπὸ[2] δὲ δὴ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀγαγὼν ἀπολογήσασθαί τε ποίησον, κἂν ἐλεγχθῇ, κόλασον μετριάσας ὡς οἷόν τέ ἐστι τὸ τιμώρημα,*
10 *ἵνα καὶ πιστευθῇ τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ πείθονται ὅτι τις ἄοπλος ὢν ἐπιβουλεύει τῷ ὡπλισμένῳ· καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτως αὐτῶν τύχοις, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὀργὴν μήτ' ἀνηκέστως, ἐφ' ὅσον γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῖο. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις στράτευμά τι ἔχοι*

[1] οὕτω M, om. V. [2] ὑπὸ Bs., ἐπὶ VM.

wrong and are but conferring benefits upon all, and it is only those who are ruling badly who believe such things; for they draw evidence from their own conscience of the credibility of the alleged slanders. And it is, furthermore, a dangerous thing even to show anger at such imputations (for if they are true, it were better not to be angry, and if they are false, it were better to pretend not to be angry), since many a man in times past has, by adopting this course, caused to be circulated against himself scandals far more numerous and more difficult to bear. This, then, is my advice concerning those who are accused of calumniating you; for you should be superior to any insult and too exalted to be reached by it, and you should never allow yourself even to imagine, or lead others to imagine, that it is possible for any one to treat you with contumely, since you desire that men shall think of you, as they do of the gods, that your sanctity is inviolable. If, however, any one is accused of plotting against you (and such a thing might also happen), refrain, in his case also, from either giving judgment yourself or prejudging the charge (for it is absurd that the same man should be both accuser and judge), but bring him before the senate and let him plead his defence there, and, if he is convicted, punish him, moderating the sentence as far as possible, in order that belief in his guilt may be fostered. For most men are very reluctant to believe that an unarmed man is plotting against one who is armed; and the only way you can win them to the belief is by showing, so far as possible, neither resentment nor the desire to exact the utmost when you inflict the penalty. But I make an exception to this rule in

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ἄντικρυς ἐπανασταίη· οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτόν που προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ κολάζεσθαι.

32 *"Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προσηκόντων, τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀνατίθει· τά τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινῶς διοικεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ἔστι που πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔμφυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ὡς καὶ ἰσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὄντες ἀξιωθῶσι, καὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφῶν τινι γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ὡς οἰκεῖα καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς αὐθαίρετα.* 2 *ἐς μὲν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρεσθαί φημι χρῆναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνώμην διδόναι, ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορῆταί τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας, πλὴν ἄν τις ἢ μηδέπω βουλεύῃ ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς* 3 *τεταμιευκοσιν ἔτι ὢν κρίνηται. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν μηδέπω δεδημαρχηκότα ἢ ἠγορανομηκότα ψῆφον κατά τινος τῶν τοιούτων φέρειν, ἢ νὴ Δία τούτων τινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν ὑπατευκότων. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήνασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτωσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπί τε τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους.*

33 *"Δίκαζε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τά τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ τὰ ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἂν παρά τε τῶν μειζόνων*

the case of a commander of an army who openly revolts; for of course it is fitting that such an one should not be tried at all, but chastised as a public enemy. B.C. 29

"These matters, then, should be referred by you to the senate, and also those others which are of the greatest importance to the state. For interests which are shared in common should be administered in common. Besides, it is doubtless a quality implanted by nature in all men that they take delight in any marks of esteem received from a superior which imply that they are his equals, and that they not only approve of all decisions made by another in consultation with themselves, as being their own decisions, but also submit to them as having been imposed by their own free choice. Therefore I say that such business ought to be brought before the senate. Furthermore, all the senators alike, that is, all who are present, should vote on all other matters; but when one of their own number is accused, not all of them should do so, unless the one who is on trial is not yet sitting as a senator or is still in the ranks of the ex-quaestors. For it is absurd that one who has not yet been a tribune or an aedile should cast a vote against men who have held those offices, or, worse yet, that any one of the latter should vote against men who have been praetors, or one of these last against men who have been consuls. Rather, let the ex-consuls alone have authority to render decisions in the case of all senators, and let the rest of the senators vote only in the cases of senators of a rank equal or inferior to their own.

"But do you judge by yourself alone the cases which come to you on appeal or reference from the higher

ἀρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ὑποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ τε τὸν σῖτον ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυλακοῦντος, ἀφικνῆται· μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μήτ' αὐτοτελὴς οὕτω τις τὸ παράπαν ἔστω ὥστε μὴ 2 οὐκ ἐφέσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι. ταῦτά τε οὖν κρῖνε,[1] καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν τε ἑκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὅταν περὶ θανατώσεως ἢ καὶ ἀτιμίας τινὸς ἀγωνίζωνται. σοὶ γὰρ δὴ[2] τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνῳ προσκείσθω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλος περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν, δι' ἅπερ εἶπον, δικαζέτω. 3 μετὰ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ ἀεὶ μὲν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ἔκ τε τῶν ὑπατευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε διαγιγνωσκέτωσαν, ἵνα σύ τε τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τούτῳ προκαταμανθάνων ὀρθῶς σφισιν ἔχῃς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσυγγιγνόμενοι[3] τοῖς τε ἤθεσι καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασί σου οὕτως ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν 4 ἡγεμονίας ἐξίωσι. τὰς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μὴ[4] φανερῶς, ὅσαι γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβεστέρας δέονται, διαπυνθάνου, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς προήκουσί[5] σφων ἐφεπόμενοι κατοκνῶσι παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεῖα γραφομένας, οἷς αὐτὸς μόνος ἐντυχών, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐκδήλους αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς ἀπαλείφεσθαι κέλευε· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ἑκάστου γνώμην διακρι-

[1] κρῖνε R. Steph., κρίναι VM.
[2] δὴ R. Steph., δεῖ VM.
[3] προσυγγιγνόμενοι Xyl., προσσυγγιγνόμενοι VM.
[4] μὴ M, om. V.
[5] προήκουσί Rk., προσήκουσι VM.

officials and the procurators, from the prefect of the city, the sub-censor, and from the prefects in charge respectively of the grain-supply and the night-watch.[1] For none of these should have such absolute jurisdiction and final authority that an appeal cannot be made from him. Do you, therefore, pass upon these cases and those which involve knights and centurions recruited from the levies and the foremost private citizens, when they are defendants on a charge punishable by death or disfranchisement. For such cases should be committed to you alone, and for the reasons mentioned no one else should judge them solely upon his own responsibility. Indeed, in the rendering of decisions generally you should be brought into consultation, invariably by the senators and knights of highest rank and also, as occasion calls for one or another, by the other senators who are ex-consuls and ex-praetors, the object being twofold: that you on your part may first become more intimately acquainted with their characters and may then be able to put them to the right kind of employment, and that they, on their part, may first become familiar with your habits of mind and your plans before they go out to govern the provinces. Do not, however, ask for a public expression of their opinion on any matter that requires an unusually careful consideration, lest they hesitate to speak freely, since in giving their opinions they follow their superiors in rank; make them, rather, write their opinions on tablets. These you should read in private, that they may become known to no one else, and should then order the writing to be erased forthwith. For the best way for you to get at each man's

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[1] *Praefectus annonae* and *praefectus vigilum*.

βώσειας, εἰ ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεύσειαν ἔσεσθαι.

5 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τάς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τάς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀξιώσεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσει προσήκει, συνεργούς τέ τινας καὶ ὑπηρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἔχε· ῥᾷόν τε γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστα διαχωρήσει, καὶ σὺ οὔτ' αὐτογνω-
6 μονῶν σφαλήσῃ οὔτ' αὐτουργῶν ἐκκαμῇ. τήν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὁτιοῦν συμβουλεῦσαί σοι μετὰ ἀδείας νέμε· ἄν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῇς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὠφελήσῃ,[1] ἄν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῇς, οὐδὲν βλαβήσῃ.
7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσεις), τοὺς δ' ἁμαρτόντας μήτ' ἀτιμάσῃς ποτὲ μήτ' αἰτιάσῃ· τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμφεσθαι.
8 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ δυστυχίᾳ ἀκουσίῳ χαλεπήνῃς τινὶ μήτε ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ φθονήσῃς, ἵνα καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἡδέως πάντες ὑπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύωσι, πιστεύοντες ὅτι οὔτε πταίσαντές τι κολασθήσονται
9 οὔτε κατορθώσαντες ἐπιβουλευθήσονται. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὸν παρὰ τῶν τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων φθόνον

[1] ὠφελήσῃ R. Steph., ὠφελήσει VM, ὠφεληθήσῃ flor.

precise opinion would be to give him the certainty that his vote cannot be detected among the rest. B.C. 29

"Moreover, for your judicial work and your correspondence, to help you attend to the decrees of the states and the petitions of private individuals, and for all other business which belongs to the administration of the empire, you must have men chosen from the knights to be your helpers and assistants. For all the details of administration will move along more easily in this way, and you will neither err through relying upon your own judgment nor become exhausted through relying upon your own efforts. Grant to every one who wishes to offer you advice, on any matter whatever, the right to speak freely and without fear of the consequences; for if you are pleased with what he says you will be greatly benefited, and if you are not convinced it will do you no harm. Those who win your favourable opinion for their suggestions you should both commend and honour, since you yourself will gain credit through their discoveries; but do not treat with disrespect or criticise those who fail of your approval, since it is their intentions that you should consider, and their lack of success should not call forth your censure. Guard against this same mistake in matters of warfare, also; give way neither to anger against a man for an unintentional misfortune nor to jealousy for a piece of good fortune, that all may zealously and gladly incur danger for your sake, confident that if they meet with any reverse they will not be punished for it and that if they gain success they will not have snares laid for them. There have been many, at any rate, who through fear of jealousy on the

φοβούμενοι σφαλῆναί τι μᾶλλον ἢ καταπρᾶξαι προείλοντο, κἀκ τούτου τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοὶ ἔσχον, τὸ δὲ δὴ[1] ζημίωμα ἐκείνοις προσετρίψαντο. ὥστε αὐτὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἀπολαύσων, μηδέποτ' ἐθελήσῃς λόγῳ μὲν ἄλλοις ἔργῳ δὲ σαυτῷ φθονῆσαι.

34 *"Πάνθ' ὅσα τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ πράττειν βούλει, καὶ λέγε καὶ ποίει. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον παιδεύσειας αὐτοὺς ἢ ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις[2] δειματώσειας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῆλον τὸ δὲ φόβον ἔχει, καὶ ῥᾷόν τις μιμεῖται τὰ κρείττω, ὁρῶν ἔργῳ γιγνόμενα, ἢ φυλάττεται τὰ*
2 *χείρω, ἀκούων λόγῳ κεκωλυμένα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκριβῶς πάντα πρᾶττε, μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην σεαυτῷ[3] νέμων, ὥστε καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι παραχρῆμα πάντες καὶ ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃς καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιήσῃς μαθήσονται. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνί τινι τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης θεάτρῳ ζήσῃ, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι ἔσται οὐδὲ βραχύτατον ἁμαρτόντι δια-*
3 *λαθεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ μόνας ποτὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ συχνῶν ἀεί τι πράξεις, καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσί πως τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἥδιστα, ὥστ' ἂν ἅπαξ καταμάθωσί σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλάς σου φοβηθήσονται[4] ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.*

4 *"Τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων βίον ἐπισκόπει μέν, μὴ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐξέταζε, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἂν ὑφ'*

[1] *δὴ* M, om. V flor. [2] *τιμωρίαις* flor., om. VM.
[3] *σεαυτῷ* flor. B, *ἑαυτῷ* VM flor. A.
[4] *φοβηθήσονται* VM, *φοβήσονται* flor.

part of those in power have chosen to accept defeat rather than achieve success, and as a result have gained safety for themselves while inflicting the loss upon their rulers. Therefore, since you yourself stand to reap the major part of the fruits of both outcomes, the failures as well as the successes, you should never consent to become jealous, nominally of others, but really of yourself. B.C. 29

"Whatever you wish your subjects to think and do, this you should always say and do yourself. In this way you will be educating them, rather than intimidating them through the punishments prescribed by the laws. The former policy inspires zeal, the latter fear; and one finds it easier to imitate that which is good when he sees it actually practised than to avoid that which is evil when he hears it forbidden by mere words. Be scrupulous yourself in all your actions, showing no mercy to yourself, in the full assurance that all men will forthwith learn of whatever you say or do. For you will live as it were in a theatre in which the spectators are the whole world; and it will not be possible for you to escape detection if you make even the most trivial mistake. Indeed, you will never be alone, but always in the company of many when you do anything; and since the remainder of mankind somehow take the keenest delight in prying into the conduct of their rulers, if once they ascertain that you are recommending to them one course but are yourself taking another, instead of fearing your threats they will imitate your actions.

"You should, of course, supervise the lives of your subjects, but do not scrutinise them with too much rigour. Sit in judgment upon all offences reported

ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐσάγηται, κρῖνε,[1] ὅσα δ' ἂν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αἰτιάζηται, μηδὲ προσποιοῦ εἰδέναι, ἔξω
5 τῶν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιστροφῆς, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐγκαλῇ, τυγχάνειν ὀφείλει· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ ἴσθι μέν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ[2] σφαλῇς ποτε ἀνεπιτηδείῳ τινὶ ὑπηρέτῃ πρός τι χρησάμενος,
6 μὴ μέντοι καὶ ἐξέλεγχε. πολλὰ γὰρ ἡ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον πολλοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει, οἷς ἂν μὲν ἀκριβῶς τις ἐπεξίῃ, ἢ τινὰ ἢ οὐδένα ἂν αὐτῶν ἀτιμώρητον καταλίποι, ἂν δ' ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῷ νενομισμένῳ παραμιγνύῃ, τάχ' ἂν
7 καὶ σωφρονίσειεν αὐτούς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος, καίτοι ἰσχυρὰ τὰ κολάσματα ἀναγκαίως ποιούμενος, οὐ δύναται τῆς φύσεως ἀεὶ κρατεῖν· τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τινὲς λανθάνειν μὲν δόξαντες ἢ καὶ μετρίως πως νουθετηθέντες ἀμείνους γίγνονται, οἱ μὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐλεγχθῆναι οἱ δὲ αἰδούμενοι
8 πάλιν σφαλῆναι, φανερωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀπερυθριάσαντες ἢ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κολασθέντες τά τε νενομισμένα πάντα συγχέουσι καὶ καταπατοῦσι, καὶ μόναις ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ὁρμαῖς δουλεύουσι. κἀκ τούτου οὔτε τὸ πάντας αὐτοὺς κολάζειν ῥᾴδιον, οὔτε τὸ περιορᾶν φανερῶς τινας ἀσελγαίνοντας εὐπρεπὲς γίγνεται.

9 "Τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦτόν σοι τὸν τρόπον, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀνηκέστων,

[1] κρῖνε R. Steph., κρίναι VM.
[2] μὴ καὶ M, καὶ μὴ V.

to you by others, but act as if you were not even aware of offences concerning which no one has made accusation—except in the case of trespasses against the public interest. These ought, of course, to receive proper attention, even if no one files a charge; but as to private shortcomings, while you should indeed have knowledge of them, in order that you may avoid making a mistake some day by employing an unsuitable person as your agent in some matter, yet you should not go so far as to convict those who are guilty of them. For human nature often tempts men to commit many a violation of the law, and if you were to prosecute such offences rigorously, you would leave unpunished few or none of the offenders; but if in a kindly spirit you mix reasonableness with the prescriptions of the law, you may succeed in bringing the offenders to their senses. The law, you know, though it of necessity makes its punishments severe, cannot always conquer nature. And so in the case of some men, if they think that their sins have not been discovered, or if they have been reproved but not unduly, they reform, either because they feel disgraced at having been found out, or because their self-respect keeps them from falling again; whereas, if they have been publicly exposed and have lost all sense of shame, or have been chastised unduly, they overturn and trample under foot all the conventions of the law and become wholly slaves to the impulses of nature. Therefore it is neither easy to punish offenders invariably in all cases nor is it seemly to allow them in particular cases to flaunt their wickedness openly.

B.C. 29

"Now this is the way I advise you to deal with men's shortcomings, with the exception of those

μεταχειρίζεσθαι παραινῶ, τὰ δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γιγνόμενα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων τιμᾶν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα ποιήσειας αὐτοὺς τῶν τε χειρόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τῶν
10 βελτιόνων ἐφίεσθαι, τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ. μὴ γάρ τοι καταδείσῃς μήθ' ὅτι ἐπιλείψει σέ ποτε ἢ χρήματα ἢ τἆλλα οἷς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἀμείψῃ (πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἔγωγε ἐλάττους αὐτῶν τοὺς εὖ τι παθεῖν ἀξίους οἶμαι γενήσεσθαι, τοσαύτης σοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντος), μήθ' ὅτι τινὲς
11 εὐεργετηθέντες ἀχαρίστως τι πράξουσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω καὶ δουλοῖ καὶ οἰκειοῦταί τινα, κἂν ἀλλότριος κἂν ἐχθρὸς ὢν τύχῃ, ὡς τὸ μήτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὖ πάσχειν.

35 "Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους οὕτω σοι προσφέρεσθαι γνώμην δίδωμι· σαυτῷ δὲ δὴ μήτε ἔξαλλόν τι μήθ' ὑπερήφανον μήτε παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μήτε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ δοθὲν περι-
2 ίδῃς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις κόσμον ἡ παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴ φέρει, σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μεῖζον μὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν δοθείη, ὑποψία δ' ἂν κιβδηλίας πολλὴ προσγένοιτο· καὶ γάρ τοι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν τοιοῦτό τι τῷ κρατοῦντι ψηφίζεσθαι δοκεῖ, πάντα δὲ δή τις αὐτὰ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ λαμβάνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον ἴσχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
3 γέλωτα προσοφλισκάνει. τήν τε οὖν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα σαυτῷ[1] διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων παρασκεύαζε, καὶ εἰκόνας σου χρυσᾶς μὲν ἢ καὶ ἀργυρᾶς μηδέποτε ἐπιτρέψῃς γενέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ μόνον δαπανηραὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτοι καὶ

[1] σαυτῷ R. Steph., ἑαυτῷ VM.

persons who are utterly incorrigible; and you should honour their good actions even beyond the merits of the deeds themselves. For you can best induce men to refrain from evil ways by kindness, and to desire better ways by liberality. You need have no fear that you will ever lack either money or the other means of rewarding those who do good deeds. On the contrary, I fancy that those who will deserve your favours will prove far too few, seeing that you hold empire over so vast an extent of land and sea. Nor need you fear that any who have received your benefactions will ever act ungratefully; for nothing so captivates and conciliates a man, be he foreigner or foe, as being not only the object of no wrongs but, in addition, the recipient of kindness. B.C. 29

"As regards your subjects, then, you should so conduct yourself, in my opinion. So far as you yourself are concerned, permit no exceptional or prodigal distinction to be given you, through word or deed, either by the senate or by any one else. For whereas the honour which you confer upon others lends glory to them, yet nothing can be given to you that is greater than what you already possess, and, besides, no little suspicion of insincerity would attach to its giving. No subject, you see, is ever supposed to vote any such distinction to his ruler of his own free will, and since all such honours as a ruler receives he must receive from himself, he not only wins no commendation for the honour but becomes a laughing-stock besides. You must therefore depend upon your good deeds to provide for you any additional splendour. And you should never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made, for they are not only costly but also invite

ὀλιγοχρόνιοί εἰσιν), ἄλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους
4 ἐξ εὐεργεσιῶν δημιούργει. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ναόν ποτε περιίδῃς σαυτῷ γενόμενον. μάτην γὰρ παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλίσκεται, ἃ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανᾶσθαι (πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβὴς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν ἀθροίζεται), καὶ ἐς εὔκλειαν οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσγί-
5 γνεται. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ, χειροτονητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε θεὸς ἐγένετο, ὥστε σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τε ὄντι καὶ καλῶς ἄρχοντι πᾶσα μὲν γῆ τεμένισμα ἔσται, πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις ναοί,[1] πάντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀγάλματα (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γνώ-
6 μαις αὐτῶν ἀεὶ μετ' εὐδοξίας ἐνιδρυθήσῃ), τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως τὰ κράτη διέποντας οὐ μόνον οὐ σεμνύνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξαιρεθῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόπαιά τέ τινα τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀδικίας γιγνόμενα· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀνταρκέσῃ, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον καὶ ἡ κακοδοξία αὐτῶν διαμένει.
36 ὥστ' εἴπερ ἀθάνατος ὄντως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι, ταῦτά τε οὕτω πρᾶττε, καὶ προσέτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον πάντῃ πάντως αὐτός τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμᾶν ἀνάγκαζε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ξενί-
2 ζοντάς τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὴ μόνον τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκα, ὧν ὁ[2] καταφρονήσας οὐδ'

[1] ναοί M, om. V. [2] ὁ supplied by St.

destruction and last only a brief time; but rather by your benefactions fashion other images in the hearts of your people, images which will never tarnish or perish. Neither should you ever permit the raising of a temple to you; for the expenditure of vast sums of money on such objects is sheer waste. This money would better be used for necessary objects; for wealth which is really wealth is gathered, not so much by getting largely, as by saving largely. Then, again, from temples comes no enhancement of one's glory. For it is virtue that raises many men to the level of gods, and no man ever became a god by popular vote. Hence, if you are upright as a man and honourable as a ruler, the whole earth will be your hallowed precinct, all cities your temples, and all men your statues, since within their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and glorified. As for those, on the contrary, who administer their realms in any other way, such honours not only do not lend holiness to them, even though shrines are set apart for them in all their cities, but even bring a greater reproach upon them, becoming, as it were, trophies of their baseness and memorials of their injustice; for the longer these temples last, the longer abides the memory of their infamy. Therefore, if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act as I advise; and, furthermore, do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers, but compel all others to honour it. Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay

B.C. 29

ἄλλου ἂν τινὸς προτιμήσειεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ καινά τινα δαιμόνια οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀντεσφέροντες πολλοὺς ἀναπείθουσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν, κἀκ τούτου καὶ συνωμοσίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἑταιρεῖαί τε γίγνονται, ἅπερ ἥκιστα μοναρχίᾳ συμφέρει. μήτ' οὖν ἀθέῳ
3 τινὶ μήτε γόητι συγχωρήσῃς εἶναι. μαντικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαία ἐστί, καὶ πάντως τινὰς καὶ ἱερόπτας καὶ οἰωνιστὰς ἀπόδειξον, οἷς οἱ βουλόμενοί τι κοινώσασθαι συνέσονται· τοὺς δὲ δὴ μαγευτὰς πάνυ οὐκ εἶναι προσήκει. πολλοὺς γὰρ πολλάκις οἱ τοιοῦτοι, τὰ μέν τινα ἀληθῆ τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω
4 ψευδῆ λέγοντες, νεοχμοῦν ἐπαίρουσι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προσποιουμένων οὐκ ὀλίγοι δρῶσι· διὸ καὶ ἐκείνους φυλάσσεσθαί σοι παραινῶ. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πεπείρασαι, πίστευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν λέγοντας ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς εἶναι· μυρία γὰρ κακὰ καὶ δήμους καὶ ἰδιώτας τὸ πρόσχημά τινες τοῦτο προβαλλόμενοι δρῶσι.

37 "Τῇ μὲν οὖν γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείονος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναί σε χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικώτατον, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν μήτε ἐθελήσῃ μήτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ τις ἀδικῆσαί σε, εἰ δὲ μή, ῥᾳδίως καὶ παραχρῆμα
2 κολασθῇ. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τἆλλα καὶ ὠτακουστεῖν τινας καὶ διοπτεύειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σου προσήκοντα, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τινος καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως

honour to any other being), but because such men, B.C. 29 by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices, from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist or a sorcerer. Soothsaying, to be sure, is a necessary art, and you should by all means appoint some men to be diviners and augurs, to whom those will resort who wish to consult them on any matter; but there ought to be no workers in magic at all. For such men, by speaking the truth sometimes, but generally falsehood, often encourage a great many to attempt revolutions. The same thing is done also by many who pretend to be philosophers; hence I advise you to be on your guard against them, too. Do not, because you have had experience of good and honourable men like Areius and Athenodorus,[1] believe that all the rest who claim to be philosophers are like them; for infinite harm, both to communities and to individuals, is worked by certain men who but use this profession as a screen.

"Now you should be wholly inclined to peace, so far as your purpose is concerned and your desire for nothing more than you now possess, but as regards your military preparations you should be distinctly warlike, in order that, if possible, no one may either wish or attempt to wrong you, but if he should, that he may be punished easily and instantly. And inasmuch as it is necessary, for these and other reasons, that there shall be persons who are to keep eyes and ears open to anything which affects your imperial position, in order that you may not be unaware of

[1] For Areius see li. 16, 4; for Athenodorus, lvi. 43, 2.

δεομένων ἀγνοῇς, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ'
3 ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γάρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντές τινας, οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοί τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντές τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτήδειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ
4 λέγοντας. οὔκουν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντα διελέγχειν· βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεῦσαί τινα οὐδὲν μέγα ἀδικηθήσῃ, σπεύσας δὲ τάχ' ἂν τι καὶ ἐξαμάρτοις, ὃ μὴ δυνηθήσῃ ἀνακέσασθαι.

5 "Τιμᾶν μὲν οὖν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ κόσμον καὶ ἀσφάλειάν σοι μεγάλην τοῦτο οἴσει. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέρογκόν τι ἰσχυέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντες σωφρονείτωσαν, ὥστε σε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν
6 διαβληθῆναι· πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοὶ προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἁπάντων νομισθήσῃ ὁποῖα ἂν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπῃς.

"Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν δυνατοὺς μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν τινα μηδὲ αὖ συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἔα· μηδὲ ἔστω τινὶ αὐτῶν

any situation that requires measures of precaution or correction, you should have such agents, but remember that you should not believe absolutely everything they say, but should carefully investigate their reports. For there are many who, from various motives,—either because they hate others or covet their possessions, or because they want to do a favour to some one else, or because they have demanded money from some one and have not obtained it,—bring false charges against the persons concerned, pretending that they are engaged in sedition or are planning or saying something prejudicial to the ruler. Therefore one ought not to give heed to them forthwith or readily, but rather should prove everything they say. For if you are too slow in placing your trust in one of these men, you will suffer no great harm, but if you are too hasty you may possibly make a mistake which you cannot repair. B.C. 29

"Now it is both right and necessary for you to honour the good who are associated with you, both your freedmen and the rest; for this course will bring you credit and a large measure of security. They should not, however, acquire excessive power, but should all be rigorously kept under discipline, so that you shall never be brought into discredit by them. For everything they do, whether good or ill, will be set to your account, and you will yourself be considered by the world to be of a character akin to the conduct which you do not object to in them.

"As regards the men of power and influence, then, you should not permit them to overreach others, nor yet, on the other hand, to be blackmailed by others; neither let the mere fact that a man

αὐτὸ[1] τοῦτο ἔγκλημα, ὅτι δύναται, κἂν μηδὲν
7 ἁμαρτάνῃ. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολλοῖς ἄμυνε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἀδικουμένοις, μὴ πρόσεχε δὲ ῥᾳδίως αἰτιωμένοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἐξέταζε, μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχον πᾶν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ
8 καταδεεστέρῳ παντὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐργαζομένους χρήσιμόν τέ τι τεχνωμένους τίμα, τοὺς δ' ἀργοῦντας ἢ καὶ φλαῦρόν τι πραγματευομένους μίσει, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὠφελίας ὀριγνώμενοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ζημίας ἀπεχόμενοι, πρός τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀμείνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφορώτεροί σοι γίγνωνται.

9 "Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστι καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμφισβητήματα ὡς ἐλάχιστα ποιοῦντα τὰς διαλύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὁρμὰς κολούειν, κἂν ἐπευχόμενοί τινα τῇ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε τύχῃ σου ἐκβιάζεσθαί τινας ἢ πρᾶξαί τι ἢ ἀναλῶσαι
10 παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρῶσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τάς τε ἔχθρας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐπωνυμίας τινὰς κενὰς μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἐξ οὗ διενεχθήσονταί τισιν ἐφιέναι σφίσι ποιεῖσθαι. ῥᾳδίως δέ σοι πάντες καὶ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ πειθαρχήσουσιν, ἂν μηδὲν παρὰ ταῦτα

[1] αὐτὸ M, om. V.

possesses power be imputed to him as a crime even though he commit no offence. But in the case of the masses, vindicate them vigorously when they are wronged and be not too ready to give heed to accusations against them; but make the accused persons' actions alone and by themselves the object of your scrutiny, neither harbouring suspicion against whatever is superior nor placing your trust in whatever is inferior. Honour those who are diligent and those who by their skill devise something useful, but abhor those who are slothful or who busy themselves with trivial things, in order that your subjects, cleaving to the former by reason of your emoluments and holding themselves aloof from the latter by reason of your punishments, may become, as you desire, more competent in respect to their private affairs and more serviceable in respect to the interests of the state.

B.C. 29

"It is well to make the number of disputes on the part of private citizens as few as possible and to render as expeditious as possible their settlement; but it is most important to restrain the rash enterprises of communities, and if they are attempting to coerce others or to go beyond their capacity or means in any undertaking or expenditure, to forbid it, even though in their petitions they invoke blessings upon the empire and pray for your welfare and good fortune. It is important also to eradicate their mutual enmities and rivalries, and not to permit them to assume empty titles or to do anything else that will bring them into strife with others. And all will readily yield obedience to you, both individuals and communities, in this and in every other matter, provided that you make no exceptions

μηδέποτε συγχωρήσῃς τινί·[1] ἡ γὰρ ἀνωμαλία καὶ
11 τὰ καλῶς πεπηγότα διαλύει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐδ'
αἰτεῖν τι ἀρχήν, ὅ γε μὴ δώσεις, ἐπιτρέπειν σφίσιν
ὀφείλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἰσχυρῶς
φυλάττειν σφᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, τὸ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν
κεκωλυμένων.

38 "Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ ἐκείνων λέγω, καθ' ἁπάντων
δέ σοι συμβουλεύω μήτ' ἀποχρήσασθαί ποτε τῇ
ἐξουσίᾳ, μήτ' οἰηθῆναι μείωσίν τινα αὐτῆς εἶναι ἂν
μὴ πάντα ἁπαξαπλῶς ὅσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσῃς·
ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μᾶλλον πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν βουληθῇς καὶ
δυνήσῃ πρᾶξαι, τόσῳ μᾶλλον προθυμοῦ πάνθ'
2 ὅσα προσήκει βούλεσθαι. καὶ ἀεί γε αὐτὸς παρὰ
σαυτῷ ἐξέταζε, εἴτε ὀρθῶς τι ποιεῖς εἴτε καὶ
μή, τί τε πράττοντά σε φιλήσουσί τινες καὶ
τί μή, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ποιῇς αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ ἐκκλίνῃς.
μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡγήσῃ[2] δεόντως τι παρὰ τοῦτο πράτ-
τειν δόξειν, ἂν μηδενὸς αἰτιωμένου σε ἀκούσῃς·
μηδ' ἀναμείνῃς οὕτω τινὰ ἐκφρονῆσαί ποτε ὥστε
3 σοι φανερῶς τι ἐξονειδίσαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ-
δεὶς ἂν ποιήσειεν, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα ἀδικηθείη· πᾶν
γὰρ τοὐναντίον καὶ ἐπαινεῖν πολλοὶ ἔν γε τῷ
φανερῷ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς σφας ἀναγκάζονται,
ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. τὸν δ'
ἄρχοντα χρὴ μὴ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσί τινες τεκμαίρε-
σθαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν φρονεῖν
αὐτοὺς εἰκός ἐστι.

39 "Ταῦτά σε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βούλομαι πράττειν·

[1] τιν R. Steph., τι VM. [2] δὴ ἡγήσῃ M, διηγήσηι V.

whatever to this rule as a concession to anybody; for the uneven application of laws nullifies even those which are well established. Consequently you ought not to allow your subjects even to ask you, in the first place, for what you are not going to give them, but should compel them strenuously to avoid at the outset this very practice of petitioning for what is prohibited. B.C. 29

"So much for these things. And I counsel you never to make full use of your power against your subjects as a body, nor to consider it any curtailment of your power if you do not actually put into effect all the measures you are in a position to enforce; but the greater your ability to do all you desire, the more eager you should be to desire in all things only what it is fitting you should desire. Always question your own heart in private whether it is right or not to do a given thing, and what you should do or refrain from doing to cause men to love you, with the purpose of doing the one and avoiding the other. For do not imagine that men will think you are doing your duty if only you hear no word of censure passed upon you; neither must you expect that any man will so abandon his senses as to reproach you openly for anything you do. No one will do this, no matter how flagrantly he has been wronged; on the contrary, many are compelled even to commend their oppressors in public, though they must struggle to keep from showing their resentment. But the ruler must get at the disposition of his subjects, not by what they say, but by what they in all likelihood think.

"These are the things I would have you do—these and others of like nature; for there are many which

πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ παραλείπω διὰ τὸ μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι πάντα αὐτὰ καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν. ἓν δ' οὖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ καὶ κατὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ 2 κατὰ τῶν λοιπῶν φράσω. ἂν γὰρ ὅσα ἂν ἕτερόν τινα ἄρξαντά σου ποιεῖν ἐθελήσῃς, ταῦτα αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος πράσσῃς, οὔτε τι ἁμαρτήσῃ καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἥδιστα καὶ 3 ἀκινδυνότατα βιώσῃ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὡς πατέρα, πῶς δ' οὐχ ὡς σωτῆρα καὶ προσόψονταί σε ἅπαντες καὶ φιλήσουσιν, ὅταν σε ὁρῶσι κόσμιον εὐβίοτον εὐπόλεμον εἰρηναῖον ὄντα, ὅταν μήθ' ὑβρίζῃς τι μήτε πλεονεκτῇς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ 4 ὁμοίου σφίσι προσφέρῃ, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸς μὲν πλουτῇς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀργυρολογῇς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφᾷς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταλαιπωρῇς, μηδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀκολασταίνῃς τοὺς δ' ἄλλους νουθετῇς, ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ὁμοιοτροπώτατα αὐτοῖς ζῇς; ὥστ' αὐτὸς παρὰ σαυτῷ μέγα φυλακτήριον ἐν τῷ μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδικῆσαι ἔχων θάρσει, καὶ πίστευέ μοι λέγοντι ὅτι οὔτε μισηθήσῃ ποτὲ οὔτε 5 ἐπιβουλευθήσῃ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος πᾶσά σε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡδέως βιῶναι· τί μὲν γὰρ ἥδιον, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονέστερόν ἐστι τοῦ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀπολαύοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὰ διδόναι δύνασθαι;

40 "Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τἆλλα πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα ἐννοήσας πείσθητί μοι, καὶ μὴ πρόῃ τὴν τύχην, ἥτις σε ἐκ πάντων ἐπελέξατο καὶ προεστήσατο. ὡς

I must pass over, since it is impossible to include them all in a single discussion. There is, however, one statement which will serve as a summary with respect both to what has been said and to what has been left unsaid: if you of your own accord do all that you would wish another to do if he became your ruler, you will err in nothing and succeed in everything, and in consequence you will find your life most happy and utterly free from danger. For how can men help regarding you with affection as father and saviour, when they see that you are orderly and upright in your life, successful in war though inclined to peace; when you refrain from insolence and greed; when you meet them on a footing of equality, do not grow rich yourself while levying tribute on them, do not live in luxury yourself while imposing hardships upon them, are not licentious yourself while reproving licentiousness in them,—when, instead of all this, your life is in every way and manner precisely like theirs? Therefore, since you have in your own hands a mighty means of protection,—that you never do wrong to another,—be of good courage and believe me when I tell you that you will never become the object of hatred or of conspiracy. And since this is so, it follows of necessity that you will also lead a happy life; for what condition is happier, what more blissful, than, possessing virtue, to enjoy all the blessings which men can know and to be able to bestow them upon others?

B.C. 29

"Think upon these things and upon all that I have told you, and be persuaded of me, and let not this fortune slip which has chosen you from all mankind and has set you up as their ruler. For, if you

εἴ γε τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς μοναρχίας αἱρῇ, τὸ δ' ὄνομα τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς καὶ ἐπάρατον φοβῇ, τοῦτο μὲν μὴ προσλάβῃς, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος
2 προσηγορίᾳ χρώμενος αὐτάρχει. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπικλήσεων προσδέῃ, δώσουσι μέν σοι τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου ἔδωκαν, σεβιοῦσι δέ σε καὶ ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ προσρήσει, ὥστε σε πᾶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἔργον ἄνευ τοῦ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῆς ἐπιφθόνου καρποῦσθαι."

41 Μαικήνας μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀμφοτέρους μέν σφας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυνοίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπῄνεσε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου μᾶλλον εἵλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ὑπετέθειτο ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, ἀθρόως
2 μεταρρυθμίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθελήσας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα μετεκόσμησε τὰ δ' ὕστερον, καί τινα καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἄρξουσι ποιῆσαι κατέλιπεν ὡς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ γενησόμενα. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς πάντα, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν σφίσι γνώμην δούς, προθυμότατα συνήρατο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἐσηγητὴς αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει.
3 Ταῦτά τε ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ[1] ὅσα ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου εἴρηται, ἔπραξεν ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτευσε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκρά-

[1] ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ R. Steph., καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ VM.

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[1] A reference to the title of "Augustus." The Greek verb σεβίζειν, here rendered by this long phrase for the sake

prefer the monarchy in fact but fear the title of 'king' as being accursed, you have but to decline this title and still be sole ruler under the appellation of 'Caesar.' And if you require still other epithets, your people will give you that of '*imperator*' as they gave it to your father; and they will pay reverence to your august position[1] by still another term of address, so that you will enjoy fully the reality of the kingship without the odium which attaches to the name of 'king.'" B.C. 29

Maecenas thus brought his speech to an end. And Caesar heartily commended both him and Agrippa for the wealth of their ideas and of their arguments and also for their frankness in expressing them; but he preferred to adopt the advice of Maecenas. He did not, however, immediately put into effect all his suggestions, fearing to meet with failure at some point if he purposed to change the ways of all mankind at a stroke; but he introduced some reforms at the moment and some at a later time, leaving still others for those to effect who should subsequently hold the principate, in the belief that as time passed a better opportunity would be found to put these last into operation. And Agrippa, also, although he had advised against these policies, coöperated with Caesar most zealously in respect to all of them, just as if he had himself proposed them.

These and all the rest that I have recorded earlier in this narrative were the acts of Caesar in the year in which he was consul for the fifth time; and he

of the word-play, is from the same root as Σεβαστός, the usual term for Augustus (cf. liii. 16, 8). Dio, however, regularly transliterates the Roman title, when he uses it; but he generally refers to Augustus as Caesar.

τορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τισίν (ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, 4 ὥστε καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις[1] ὄνομα αὐτοκράτορος σχεῖν) ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐκγόνοις[2] ἐψήφιστο.

42 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμητεύσας σὺν τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διώρθωσε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐξήτασε. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἱππῆς πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πεζοὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἐβούλευον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς χιλίους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερουσίας 2 αὐξηθῆναι. τούτους οὖν ἐκκρῖναι βουληθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδένα αὐτῶν ἀπήλειψε, προτρεψάμενος δέ σφας ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου δικαστὰς ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεντήκοντά που ἔπεισεν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσ-3 σαράκοντα μιμήσασθαί σφας ἠνάγκασε. καὶ αὐτῶν ἠτίμωσε μὲν οὐδένα, τὰ δ' ὀνόματα τῶν δευτέρων ἐξέθηκε· τοῖς γὰρ προτέροις, ὅτι μὴ ἐχρόνισαν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειθάρχησάν οἱ, ἀφῆκε τὸ ὀνείδισμα, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐκδημοσιευθῆναι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν[3] ἑκούσιοι δῆθεν ἰδιώτευσαν, Κύιντον δὲ δὴ Στατίλιον καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντα τῆς

[1] ἅπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις Reim., ἐν εἰκόσιν VM.
[2] ἐκγόνοις VM, ἐγγόνοις Xiph. [3] οὖν M, om. V.

assumed the title of *imperator*. I do not here refer to the title which had occasionally been bestowed, in accordance with the ancient custom, upon generals in recognition of their victories,—for he had received that many times before this and received it many times afterwards in honour merely of his achievements, so that he won the name of *imperator* twenty-one times,—but rather the title in its other use, which signifies the possession of the supreme power, in which sense it had been voted to his father Caesar and to the children and descendants of Caesar. B.C. 29

After this he became censor with Agrippa as his colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he instituted, he purged the senate. For as a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand. Now though it was his wish to remove these men, he did not erase any of their names himself, but urged them rather, on the strength of their own knowledge of their families and their lives, to become their own judges; he thus first persuaded some fifty of them to withdraw from the senate voluntarily, and then compelled one hundred and forty others to imitate their example. He disfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second group only; for he spared the members of the first group the reproach of the publication of their names, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him. So all these men returned to private life of their own free will, so far as appearances were concerned; but Quintus Statilius was deposed, decidedly against his will, from the

4 δημαρχίας, ἐς ἣν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἶρξεν. ἑτέρους τέ τινας βουλεύειν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς ὑπατευκότας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευόντων, Κλούουιόν τέ τινα καὶ Φούρνιον Γαΐους, ἐγκατέλεξεν, ὅτι προαποδεδειγμένοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, ἄλλων τινῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπατεῦσαι.
5 τό τε τῶν εὐπατριδῶν γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς βουλῆς οἱ δῆθεν ἐπιτρεψάσης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ τό τε πλεῖστόν σφων ἀπωλώλει[1] (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἀναλίσκεται) καὶ ἐς τὴν ποίησιν τῶν
6 πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι ἀεὶ εἶναι νομίζονται. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἔπραξε, καὶ προσαπεῖπε πᾶσι τοῖς βουλεύουσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἂν μὴ αὐτός τινι κελεύσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐπιτρέψῃ. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ φυλάσσεται· πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἄλλοσε βουλευτῇ ἀποδη-
7 μῆσαι ἔξεστιν. ἐκεῖσε γὰρ διά τε τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄοπλον τό τε εἰρηναῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέδοται τοῖς γέ τι κεκτημένοις αὐτόθι καὶ ἄνευ παραιτήσεως, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀπιέναι.
8 ἐπειδή τε πολλοὺς ἔτι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σπουδασάντων ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἑώρα, καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχμώσωσί τι, πάντα ἔφη τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὑρεθέντα κατακεκαυκέναι. καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς γε διεφθάρκει τινά· τὰ γὰρ δὴ πλείω καὶ πάνυ ἐτήρει, ὥστε μηδ' ὀκνῆσαι ὕστερον αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι.

[1] ἀπωλώλει Dind., ἀπολώλει VM.

tribuneship, to which he had been appointed. And Caesar caused some other men to become senators, and he enrolled among the ex-consuls two men of the senatorial class, a certain Gaius Cluvius and Gaius Furnius, because, after they had already been elected consuls, they had been unable to serve, since others had occupied their offices first. And at the same time he increased the number of patrician families, ostensibly with the senate's permission, inasmuch as the greater part of the patricians had perished (indeed no class is so wasted in our civil wars as the nobility), and because the patricians are always regarded as indispensable for the perpetuation of our traditional institutions. In addition to these measures he forbade all members of the senate to go outside of Italy, unless he himself should command or permit them to do so. This restriction is still observed down to the present day; for no senator is allowed to leave the country for the purpose of visiting any place except Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis. But in the case of these regions, since they are close at hand and the inhabitants are unarmed and peaceful, those who have any possessions there are conceded the right to repair to them as often as they like without asking permission. And since he saw that many of the senators and others who had been partisans of Antony were still inclined to be suspicious of him, and was fearful lest they might set a revolution on foot, he announced that all the letters that had been found in Antony's strong boxes had been burned. And it is quite true that he had destroyed some of them, but he was very careful to keep the larger part, and afterwards he did not scruple to make use of them, either.

B.C. 29

43 Τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπαπῴκισεν, ὅτι ὁ Λέπιδος μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἠρημώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀποικίας σφῶν λελυκέναι ἐδόκει. τόν τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν μετεπέμψατο, ὅτι τινὰ πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφόρου οἱ ὄντος σταλέντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδολοφόνησε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον 2 ἐσήγαγε καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τὴν Καπρίαν παρὰ τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν, ὧνπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἦν, ἀντιδόσει χώρας ἠλλάξατο. κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς κατὰ Συρρεντὸν[1] ἠπείρου, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐνοίκησιν ἔχουσα.

[1] Συρρεντὸν H. Steph., συρεντὸν VM.

BOOK LII

So much for these matters. Caesar also settled Carthage anew, because Lepidus had laid waste a part of it and by this act, it was held, had abrogated the rights of the earlier colonists. And he sent a summons to Antiochus of Commagene, because he had treacherously murdered an envoy who had been despatched to Rome by his brother, who was at variance with him. Caesar brought him before the senate, and when judgment had been passed against him, put him to death. He also obtained Capreae from the Neapolitans, to whom it originally belonged, giving other territory in exchange. It lies not far from the mainland in the region of Surrentum and is good for nothing, but is renowned even to the present day because Tiberius had a residence there.

B.C. 29

BOOK LIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸς ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καθιερώθη.
β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὡς τῆς μοναρχίας ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐνείματο.
γ. Περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη πεμπομένων.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος ἐπεκλήθη.
ε. Περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὧν οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λαμβάνουσιν.
ζ. Ὡς τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἄστυρσι καὶ Καντάβροις ἐπολέμησεν.
θ. Ὡς Γαλατία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἤρξατο.
ι. Ὡς ἡ στοὰ ἡ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καθιερώθη.
κ. Ὡς τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.
λ. Ὡς Αὔγουστος ἀφείθη τῆς ἀνάγκης τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι.
μ. Ὡς ἐπ' Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα στρατεία ἐγένετο.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἕξ, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Καῖσαρ τὸ ϛ'
M. Οὐιψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ β'[1] ὕπ.
Καῖσαρ τὸ ζ'
M. Οὐιψάνιος Λ. υἱ. Ἀγρίππας τὸ γ' ὕπ.
Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος τὸ η'
Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. υἱ.[2] Ταῦρος τὸ β' ὕπ.
Αὔγουστος τὸ θ'
M. Ἰούνιος M. υἱ. Σιλανός ὕπ.
Αὔγουστος τὸ ι'[3]
Γ. Νωρβανὸς Γ. υἱ. Γ. ἔγγ. Φλάκκος ὕπ.[4]
Αὔγουστος τὸ ια'
Γν. Καλπούρνιος[5] Γν. υἱ. Γν. ἔγγ. Πίσων[6] ὕπ.[4]

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἔτει ἕκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦρξε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζό-

[1] τὸ β' Xyl., τὸ γ' VM. [2] Τ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.
[3] M. Ἰούνιος Σιλανός Αὔγουστος τὸ ι' supplied by Xyl., M. υἱ. added by Bs. [4] ὕπ. supplied by Bs.

BOOK LIII

The following is contained in the Fifty-third of Dio's *Rome*:—

How the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated (chap. 1).
How Caesar delivered a speech in the senate, as if he were retiring from the sole rulership, and afterwards assigned to that body its provinces (chaps. 2–12).
About the appointment of the governors sent to the provinces (chaps. 13–15).
How Caesar was given the title of Augustus (chap. 16).
About the names which the emperors receive (chaps. 17, 18).
How the Saepta were dedicated (chap. 23).
How Caesar fought against the Astures and Cantabri (chap. 25).
How Galatia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 26).
How the Basilica of Neptune and he Baths of Agrippa were dedicated (chap. 27).
How the Pantheon was dedicated (chap. 27).
How Augustus was freed from the obligation of obeying the laws (chap. 28).
How an expedition was made against Arabia Felix (chap. 29).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
28 Caesar (VI), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (II).
27 Caesar (VII), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (III).
26 Caesar Augustus (VIII), T. Statilius T. F. Taurus (II).
25 Augustus (IX), M. Junius M. F. Silanus.
24 Augustus (X), C. Norbanus C. F. C. N. Flaccus.
23 Augustus (XI), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Cn. N. Piso.

These were the occurrences at that time. The following year Caesar held office for the sixth time and conformed in all other respects to the usages

B.C. 28

[5] Καλπούρνιος Xyl., καλπούρνινος VM.
[6] Πίσων Dind., πείσων VM.

μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ συνάρχοντί οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτός τε ταῖς ἑτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὅρκον κατὰ
2 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε. καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὖθις ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τήν τε ἀδελφιδῆν[1] αὐτῷ συνῴκισε, καὶ σκηνήν, ὁπότε συστρατεύοιντο, ὁμοίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρεῖχε, τό τε σύνθημα παρ'
3 ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν ἐδίδοτο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε παρόντι τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἴθιστο ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατίᾳ ἐνενόμιστο. τό τε Ἀπολλώνιον[2] τὸ[3] ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τάς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων,
4 ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ γενομένῃ ψηφισθεῖσαν ἤγαγε μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν διά τε τῶν παίδων
5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι του[4] ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα,[5] λέγω δὲ τούς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τούς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους· τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν

[1] ἀδελφιδῆν M (ἀδελφιδὴν), ἀδελφὴν V Xiph. Zon.
[2] Ἀπολλώνιον St., ἀπολλώνειον VM. [3] τὸ Bk., τό τε VM.
[4] μέχρι του v. Herw., μέχρις οὗ VM.
[5] μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.

handed down from the earliest times, and, in particular, he delivered to Agrippa, his colleague, the bundles of rods as it was incumbent upon him to do, while he himself used the other set,[1] and on completing his term of office he took the oath according to ancestral custom.[2] Whether he ever did this again, I do not know, for he always paid exceptional honour to Agrippa; thus he gave him his niece in marriage, and provided him with a tent similar to his own whenever they were campaigning together, and the watchword was given out by both of them. At this particular time, now, besides attending to his other duties as usual, he completed the taking of the census, in connection with which his title was *princeps senatus*, as had been the practice when Rome was truly a republic. Moreover, he completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries. He also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honour of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the Circensian games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession—I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quindecimviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest

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[1] Augustus seems to have used twenty-four lictors until 29 B.C., and thereafter twelve, first as consul (until 23), then as proconsul (until 19), and later on all occasions. Cf. liv. 10, 5.

[2] The customary oath taken by the consuls at the close of their term of office to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the laws and had acted for the highest interests of the state. Cf. xxxvii. 38, 2, and xxxviii. 12, 3.

σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρειῳ πεδίῳ ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὁπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰ-
6 χμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ[1] ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἀνεπλήρου.

2 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ἔς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ ἐδέησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πρός τε τὴν διοίκησίν σφων δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἱρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιον τὸν σῖτον ἔνειμε, βου-
2 λευταῖς τέ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ πολλοί σφων πένητες ἐγεγόνεσαν ὥστε μηδ' ἀγορανομῆσαί τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τῇ ἀγορανομίᾳ προσήκοντα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἴθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμῳ τὰ δὲ ἕτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσταχθῆναι.
3 πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξεν· ὃ καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ μάχης γενομένας, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, ἀπήλλαξε, τά τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια
4 τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων ἔκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγενημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἴγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνε-

[1] καὶ M, om. V.

was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives. These events continued for several days and were not interrupted even when Caesar fell ill; but Agrippa went on with them even so, discharging Caesar's duties as well as his own. B.C. 28

Now Caesar allowed it to be understood that he was spending his private means upon these festivals, and when money was needed for the public treasury, he borrowed some and supplied the want; and for the management of the funds he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-praetors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and to some of the senators he made presents of money. For so many of them had become impoverished that none was willing to hold even the office of aedile because of the magnitude of the expenditures involved; indeed, the functions which belonged to that office, and particularly the judicial functions, were assigned to the praetors, as had been the custom, the more important to the praetor urbanus and the rest to the praetor peregrinus. In addition to all this, Caesar himself appointed the praetor urbanus, as, indeed, he often did subsequently. He cancelled all obligations which had been given to the public treasury previous to the battle of Actium, except those secured by buildings, and he burned the old notes of those who were indebted to the state. As for religious matters, he did not allow the Egyptian rites to be celebrated inside the pomerium, but made provision for the temples; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest

5 κτήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεώς σφων ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς. ἐπειδή τε πολλὰ πάνυ κατά τε τὰς στάσεις κἀν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχίᾳ, καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι' ἑνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, ὅρον τὴν
6 ἕκτην αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν προθείς.[1] εὐδοκιμῶν τε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον τιμηθείη, καὶ παρ' ἑκόντων δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαιώσασθαι τοῦ[2] μὴ δοκεῖν ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς βε-
7 βιάσθαι. κἀκ τούτου τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους οἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν παρασκευάσας ἔς τε τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσῆλθεν ἕβδομον ὑπατεύων, καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε·

3 "Ἄπιστα μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν,[3] ὦ πατέρες, προῃρῆσθαι· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἑτέρου λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἑτοιμότερον
2 ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν λεγομένοις. καὶ προσέτι καὶ γιγνώσκω τοῦθ', ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσί τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελλόμην ὃ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιήσειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἂν ἀπώκνησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι, μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω·

[1] προθείς Rk., προσθείς VM.
[2] τοῦ R. Steph., τὸ VM.
[3] ὑμῶν M, ὑμῖν V.

he restored himself. He did not, however, appropriate to himself the credit for their erection, but allowed it to go as before to the original builders. And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration. When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the senate in his seventh consulship and read the following address:

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B.C. 27

"I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im-

3 νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὺς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνυ θαρσούντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ 4 καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐδοξίᾳ νικήσειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε· τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἤτοι δικαιωθὲν πέπαυται ἢ καὶ ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται,[1] καὶ τὸ συναράμενόν μοι τῇ τε ἀμοιβῇ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ᾠκείωται καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν πρα-2 γμάτων ὠχύρωται, ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὸ γοῦν βοηθῆσον ἡμῖν ἕτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. τά τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διάκεισθε πρός με ὥστε καὶ πάνυ ἂν προστατεῖσθαι[2] 3 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμᾶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχίας ἕνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἔπραξα· ἀλλὰ ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἁπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς 4 ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσεκτησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθητε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέ-5 λησα. ὄφελον μὲν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστῆναί ποτε οὕτω τοῖς πράγμασι· τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὄφελον μὴ

[1] ἐλεηθὲν σεσωφρόνισται M, ἐλεηθέντες σωφρόνισται V.
[2] προστατεῖσθαι M, προστατεῖσθε V.

putation. But as it is, when the performance will follow the promise this very day, I feel quite confident, not only that I shall incur no reproach of falsehood, but that I shall surpass all mankind in good repute. You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its senses by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything,—the army, the laws, and the provinces, —not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not

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δεδεῆσθαί μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἱμαρμένη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὄντος, καὶ χρείαν σχεῖν καὶ πεῖραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὗ[1] τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρῃζε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα·
3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψέ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι, οὐ πόνος, οὐ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὐ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα ἀφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα
4 καὶ ἔπαθον ἅπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιῆσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ὥσπερ εἰώθειτε.

6 "Καὶ μήτε[2] θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτω φρονῶ, τήν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν μου καὶ πρᾳότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὁρῶντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔθ' ὑπέρογκον οὔθ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς, καίπερ πολλὰ πολλάκις ψηφισαμένων
2 ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην· μήτ' αὖ μωρίαν μου καταγνῶτε,

[1] οὗ Bk., που VM. [2] μήτε Bk., μήτοι VM.

required me for any such task, but that we of this generation also might have lived from the beginning in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore. But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you to a position where you had need even of me, young as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I did everything with a zeal even beyond my years and accomplished everything with a good fortune even beyond my powers, so long as the situation demanded my help. And nothing in the world could deter me from aiding you when you were in danger, —neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspirators, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and suffered, you know. From all this I have derived no gain for myself except that I have kept my country from perishing; but as for you, you are enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then, Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you peace without treachery and harmony without faction, receive back also your liberty and the republic; take over the army and the subject provinces, and govern yourselves as has been your wont. B.C. 27

"You should not be surprised at this purpose of mine, when you see my reasonableness in other respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and when you reflect, moreover, that I have never accepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything beyond what the many might gain, though you have often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the

ὅτι ἐξόν μοι καὶ ὑμῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τηλικαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης ἔχειν οὐ βούλομαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἄν τε τὸ δίκαιόν τις ἐξετάζῃ, δικαιότατον εἶναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, ἄν τε καὶ τὸ συμφέρον, συμφορώτατον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα ἔχειν μήτε φθονεῖσθαι μήτε ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ μετ' ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ φιλικῶς πολιτεύ-

3 εσθαι· ἄν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὗπερ ἕνεκα πολλοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἱροῦνται, πῶς μὲν οὐκ εὐδοξότατόν μοι ἔσται τηλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἀφέσθαι, πῶς δ' οὐκ εὐκλεέστατον ἐκ τοσούτου ἡγεμονίας ὄγκου ἐθελοντὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι; ὥστ' εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀπιστεῖ ταῦτ' ὄντως τινὰ ἄλλον καὶ φρονῆσαι ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι,

4 ἔμοιγε πιστευσάτω. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξαι ἔχων ὅσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου εὐηργέτησθε, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ φιλοίητε καὶ τιμῴητε, οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον σεμνυναίμην, ὅτι τὴν μοναρχίαν μήτε ἐκεῖνος καίτοι διδόντων ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχων ἀφίημι.

7 "Τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ παρεξετάσειεν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίας ἅλωσιν ἢ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἢ τὴν Μυσίας χείρωσιν ἢ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφήν; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ἰούβαν τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν,

other hand, condemn me as foolish because, when it is in my power to rule over you and to hold so great a sovereignty over this vast world, I do not wish it. For, if one looks into the merits of the case from the point of view of justice, I regard it as most just for you to manage your own affairs; if from the point of view of expediency, I consider it most expedient, both that I should be free from trouble and not be the object of jealousy and intrigue, and that you should have a government based upon liberty and conducted with moderation and friendly feeling; and if, finally, from the point of view of glory, to win which many men are often found ready to choose war and personal risk, will it not add most to my renown to resign so great an empire, will it not add most to my glory to leave so exalted a sovereignty and voluntarily become a private citizen? Therefore, if there is any one of you who believes that no man except me can really and sincerely hold to such ideals and give them utterance, at least let him believe it of me. For, though I could recite many great benefits conferred upon you both by me and by my father, for which we beyond all other men could reasonably claim your affection and your honour, I could single out no other act in preference to this, nor could I feel a greater pride in any other thing than in this,—that he refused the monarchy although you offered it to him, and that I, when I hold it, lay it aside.

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"What achievement, indeed, could one compare with these acts of ours? The conquest of Gaul, the enslavement of Pannonia, the subjugation of Moesia, the overthrow of Egypt? Or Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the campaign against the Britons, or

τὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ταῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα καὶ οἷα οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ
2 πεποιήκασιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε τούτων τι τῷ παρόντι ἔργῳ παραβαλεῖν ἐστιν ἄξιον, οὔθ' ὅτι τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ποικιλωτάτους διὰ πάντων γενομένους καὶ διεπολεμήσαμεν καλῶς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρώπως, τοῦ μὲν ἀντιστάντος ὡς καὶ πολεμίου παντὸς[1] κρατήσαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπεῖξαν ὡς καὶ φίλιον πᾶν περισώ-
3 σαντες, ὥστ' εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ αὖθις πεπρωμένον εἴη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν[2] νοσῆσαι, τοῦτον αὐτὴν τὸν τρόπον εὔξασθαί τινα στασιάσαι· τὸ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτόν τε ἰσχύσαντας ἡμᾶς καὶ οὕτω καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἀκμάσαντας ὥστε καὶ ἑκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων ὑμῶν αὐταρχῆσαι δυνηθῆναι, μήτε ἐκφρονῆσαι μήτε τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνον διδομένην αὐτὴν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐμὲ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπόν
4 ἐστιν. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ ὁτιοῦν πλεονεκτήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἤμελλον), ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἔς τε τὸ κοινὸν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σεμνολογημάτων ἡμῖν ὄντων, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀγαλλόμεθα ὅτι, ὧν ἕτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοί τινας ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταῦθ'
8 ἡμεῖς οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσιέμεθα. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν μεγαλοψυχότερός μου, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν μετηλλαχότα αὖθις εἴπω, τίς δὲ δαιμονιώτερος εὑρεθείη; ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Ἥρακλες,

[1] παντὸς M, τινὸς V.
[2] εἴη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν V, ἡμῶν εἴη τὴν πόλιν M.

the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater and more important deeds than even all our forefathers together performed in all previous time. Nevertheless, no one of these exploits deserves a place beside my present act, to say nothing of our civil wars, of all which have ever occurred the greatest and most varied in its changing fortunes, which we fought to an honourable conclusion and brought to a humane settlement, overpowering as enemies all who resisted, but sparing as friends all who yielded; therein setting an example, so that if it should be fated that our city should ever again be afflicted, one might pray that it should conduct its quarrel in the same way. Indeed, I will go further: that we, when we possessed a strength so great, and when we so clearly stood at the summit of prowess and good fortune, that we could exercise over you, with or without your consent, our arbitrary rule, did not lose our senses or conceive the desire for sole supremacy, but that he thrust that supremacy aside when it was offered him and that I return it after it has been given me,—that, I say, transcends the deeds of a man! I say this, not by way of idle boasting,—indeed, I should not have said it at all, if I were going to derive any advantage whatever from it,—but in order that you may see that, although we can point to many benefits conferred upon the state at large and to many services rendered to individuals of which we might boast, yet we take the greatest pride in this, that what others so desire that they are even willing to do violence to gain it, this we do not accept even under compulsion. Who could be found more magnanimous than I,—not to mention again my deceased father,—who more nearly divine? For

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στρατιώτας τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους, καὶ πολίτας καὶ συμμάχους, φιλοῦντάς με ἔχων, καὶ πάσης μὲν τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θαλάσσης πλὴν ὀλίγων κρατῶν, ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἠπείροις
2 καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη κεκτημένος, καὶ μήτ' ἀλλοφύλου τινὸς ἔτι προσπολεμοῦντός μοι μήτ' οἰκείου στασιάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑμῶν καὶ εἰρηνούντων καὶ ὁμονοούντων καὶ εὐθενούντων[1] καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐθελοντηδὸν πειθαρχούντων, ἔπειθ' ἑκούσιος αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ ἀρχῆς τηλικαύτης ἀφίσταμαι καὶ οὐσίας τοσαύτης ἀπαλλάττομαι.
3 ὥστ' εἴπερ ὁ Ὁράτιος ὁ Μούκιος ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ Ῥήγουλος οἱ Δέκιοι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν πεποιηκέναι δόξαι ἠθέλησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσαιμι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι ἐξ οὗ κἀκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅμα πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐκλείᾳ ζῶν
4 ὑπερβαλῶ; μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσῃ τις ὑμῶν[2] τοὺς μὲν πάλαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ἐφεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἐξίτηλον ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶν τὸ ἀνδρῶδες γεγονέναι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὑποπτεύσῃ ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς καὶ πονηροῖς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ καὶ ὀχλοκρατίᾳ τινί, ἐξ ἧς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι.
5 ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἐποίησα, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καὶ μοναρχῆσαί με ἔδει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ
6 ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ. αὐτός τε

[1] εὐθενούντων Dind., εὐθηνούντων Rk., εὐσθενούντων VM.
[2] ὑμῶν M, ἡμῶν V.

I,—the gods be my witnesses!—who have so many gallant soldiers, both Romans and allies, who are devoted to me, I, who am supreme over the entire sea within the Pillars of Hercules except for a few tribes, I who possess both cities and provinces in every continent, at a time when there is no longer any foreign enemy making war upon me and no one at home is engaged in sedition, but when you are all at peace, are harmonious and strong, and, greatest of all, are content to yield obedience, I, in spite of all this, voluntarily and of my own motion resign so great a dominion and give up so vast a possession. So then, if Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus, and the Decii were willing to encounter danger and to die to win the fame of having done a great and noble deed, why should not I desire even more to do this thing, whereby, without losing my life, I shall excel both them and all the rest of mankind in glory? In truth no one of you should think that the ancient Romans sought to win fair fame and reputation for valour, but that in these days every manly virtue has become extinct in the state. And further, let no one suspect that I wish to betray you by delivering you into the hands of a group of wicked men, or by giving you over to government by the mob, from which nothing good ever comes, but rather in all cases and for all mankind nothing but the most terrible evils. Nay, it is to you senators, to you who are the best and wisest, that I restore the entire administration of the state. The other course I should never have followed, even had it been necessary for me to die a thousand deaths, or even to assume the sole rule; but this policy I adopt both for my own good and for that of the city. For

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γὰρ καὶ πεπόνημαι καὶ τεταλαιπώρημαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ οὔτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι· καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐγγίγνεταί τισι, τάς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς προορῶμαι. 7 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἢ μοναρχῆσαι ἐπικινδύνως αἱροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς ἂν πολὺ βέλτιον ἅτε[1] καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἅμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἕνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικοῖτο.

9 "Δι' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὑμῶν ὁμοίως καὶ συνεπαινέσαι καὶ συμπροθυμηθῆναί μοι, λογισαμένους πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πεπολέμηκα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πεπολίτευμαι, κἂν τούτῳ πᾶσάν μοι τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χάριν ἀποδόντας, ἐν τῷ συγχωρῆσαί μοι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἤδη ποτὲ καταβιῶναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἄλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθῆναι δύναμαι. 2 μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζήσειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς μήτε ἔργῳ μήτε λόγῳ κακὸν πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶ· τοσοῦτόν που τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ὑμῶν, ἐξ 3 ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. ἂν δέ τι καὶ πάθω, οἷα πολλοῖς συμβαίνει (οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τέ ἐστι πᾶσί τινα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοσούτοις πολέμοις, τοῖς μὲν ὀθνείοις τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐμφυλίοις, γενόμενον καὶ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα ἐπιτραπέντα, ἀρέσαι), καὶ πάνυ ἑτοίμως καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἱμαρ-

[1] βέλτιον ἅτε Rk., βελτίονά τε VM.

I myself have undergone both labours and hardships and am no longer able to stand the strain, either in mind or in body. Furthermore, I foresee the jealousy and hatred which are engendered in certain persons against even the best men and the plots which arise therefrom. It is for these reasons that I choose the life of a private citizen and fair fame rather than that of a sovereign and constant peril. And as for the business of the commonwealth, it would be carried on far better by all in common, inasmuch as it would be transacted by many men together instead of being dependent upon some one man. B.C. 27.

"For these reasons, then, I ask and implore you one and all both to approve my course and to coöperate heartily with me, reflecting upon all that I have done for you alike in war and in public life, and rendering me complete recompense for it all by this one favour,—by allowing me at last to be at peace as I live out my life. Thus you will come to know that I understand not only how to rule but also how to submit to rule, and that all the commands which I have laid upon others I can endure to have laid upon me. I ask this because I expect to live in security, if that be possible, and to suffer no harm from anybody by either deed or word,—such is the confidence, based upon my own conscience, which I have in your good-will; but if some disaster should befall me, such as falls to the lot of many (for it is not possible for a man to please everybody, especially when he has been involved in wars of such magnitude, both foreign and civil, and has had affairs of such importance entrusted to him), with entire willingness I make my choice to die even before my appointed

μένου μοι χρόνου τελευτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύσας, ἢ καὶ ἀθάνατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αἱροῦμαι. 4 ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ εὔκλειαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἴσει ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐφόνευσά τινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπέθανον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μοναρχῆσαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ τολμήσας ἀποκτεῖναί με πάντως που καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ' 5 ὑμῶν κολασθήσεται. ἅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρός μου γέγονεν· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἰσόθεος ἀπεδείχθη καὶ τιμῶν ἀιδίων ἔτυχεν, οἱ δ' ἀποσφάξαντες αὐτὸν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. ἀθάνατοι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δυνηθείημεν γενέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆσαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς τελευ- 6 τῆσαι καὶ τοῦτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἤδη ἔχων τὸ δὲ ἕξειν ἐλπίζων, ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τάς τε προσόδους καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπών, ἵνα μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τὸ δυσμεταχείριστον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες ἀθυμήσητε, μήτ' αὖ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ῥᾳδίως διοικεῖσθαι δυναμένων ἀμελήσητε.

10 "Καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ὑμῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ὅσα χρὴ πράττειν ὑποθέσθαι. τίνα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κειμένους νόμους ἰσχυρῶς φυλάττετε, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μεταβάλητε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταὐτῷ μένοντα, κἂν χείρω ᾖ, συμφορώτερα τῶν ἀεὶ καινοτομουμένων, κἂν βελτίω εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν. 2 ἔπειτα δέ, ὅσα προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι ποιεῖν

time as a private citizen, in preference to living forever as the occupant of a throne. Indeed, this very choice will bring me renown,—that I not only did not deprive another of life in order to win that office, but went so far as even to give up my life in order to avoid being king; and the man who dares to slay me will certainly be punished, I am sure, both by Heaven and by you, as happened, methinks, in the case of my father. For he was declared to be the equal of the gods and obtained eternal honours, whereas those who slew him perished, miserable men, by a miserable death. As for immortality, we could not possibly achieve it; but by living nobly and by dying nobly we do in a sense gain even this boon. Therefore, I, who already possess the first requisite and hope to possess the second, return to you the armies and the provinces, the revenues and the laws, adding only a few words of suggestion, to the end that you may not be afraid of the magnitude of the business of administration, or of the difficulty of handling it and so become discouraged, and that you may not, on the other hand, regard it with contempt, with the idea that it can easily be managed, and thus neglect it. B.C. 27

"And yet, after all, I feel no hesitancy about suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading departments of administration. And what are these suggestions? In the first place, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them; for what remains fixed, even though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, pay strict heed to do whatever these laws enjoin upon

καὶ ὅσων ἀπαγορεύουσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκριβῶς παρατηρεῖσθε,[1]
3 ὅπως μὴ τιμωρίας ἀλλὰ τιμῶν τυγχάνητε. τάς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις τε καὶ ἐμφρονεστάτοις ἐπιτρέπετε, μήτε φθονοῦντές τισι,[2] μήθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα πλεονεκτῆσαί τι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐπραγεῖν
4 φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τιμᾶτε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως πολιτευομένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια κοινὰ τῇ πόλει παρέχετε, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχονθ' ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς φυλάττετε, τῶν δὲ μὴ
5 προσηκόντων μηδαμῶς ἐφίεσθε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους μήθ' ὑβρίζετε μήτε ἐκχρηματίζεσθε, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε μήτε φοβεῖσθε. τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεὶ ἔχετε, μὴ μέντοι μήτε κατ' ἀλλήλων
6 μήτε κατὰ τῶν εἰρηνούντων αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε.[3] τούς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μὲν ἀρκούντως, ὥστε μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων δι' ἀπορίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι, συνέχετε δὲ καὶ σωφρονίζετε, ὥστε μηδὲν κακὸν διὰ θρασύτητα δρᾶσαι.

7 "'Αλλὰ τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξιόντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρὴ πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε.[4] ἓν οὖν ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἂν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοί τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἐμοὶ

[1] παρατηρεῖσθε R. Steph., παρατηρεῖσθαι VM.
[2] τισι M, τινι V. [3] χρῆσθε M, χρῆσθαι V.
[4] συνίδοιτε Pflugk, συνείδοιτε VM.

you and to refrain from whatever they forbid, and do this not only in word but also in deed, not only in public but also in private, that you may obtain, not penalties, but honours. Entrust the offices both of peace and of war to those who are the most excellent and the most prudent, harbouring no jealousy of any man, and indulging in rivalry, not to advance the private interests of this or that man, but to keep the city safe and make it prosperous. Honour men who show this spirit, but punish those who act otherwise in political life. Treat your private means as the common property of the state, but refrain from the public funds as belonging to others. Guard strictly what you already have, but never covet that which does not belong to you. Do not treat the allies and subject nations insolently nor exploit them for gain, and in dealing with the enemy, neither wrong him nor fear him. Have your arms always in hand, but do not use them either against one another or against those who keep the peace. Maintain the soldiers adequately, so that they may not on account of want desire anything which belongs to others; keep them in hand and under discipline, that they may not become presumptuous and do harm.

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"But why make a long speech by going through everything in detail which it behooves you to do? For you may easily understand from these hints how all other matters should be handled. I will close with this one further remark, that if you will conduct the government in this manner, you will both enjoy

χαριεῖσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν
8 τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἂν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτῶν πρᾶξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοῆσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν ἔς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύνους μεγάλους αὖθις ἐμβαλεῖτε."

11 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γὰρ τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ᾔδεσαν κἀκ τούτου καὶ συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευόν σφισι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι,
2 οἱ μὲν τὴν περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἤχθοντο οἱ μὲν τῇ πραγματείᾳ αὐτοῦ οἱ δὲ τῇ μετανοίᾳ. τό τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ἤδη τινὲς ὡς καὶ στασιῶδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας ἠρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς
3 δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν ὁμοίοις ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύναντο, οὔθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι[1] τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὔθ' οἱ ἕτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὔτ' ἀπιστήσαντες διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλέγξαι ἐτόλμων, οἱ μὲν
4 ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὅθενπερ καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχεῖσθαί τε δεόμενοι καὶ

[1] βουλόμενοι R. Steph., βουλευόμενοι VM.

prosperity yourselves and you will gratify me, who found you engaged in wretched strife and made you what you now are; but if there is any part whatever of this programme that you shall prove unable to carry out, you will cause me to regret my action and you will at the same time cast the city again into many wars and grave dangers." B.C. 27

While Caesar was reading this address, varied feelings took possession of the senators. A few of them knew his real intention and consequently kept applauding him enthusiastically; of the rest, some were suspicious of his words, while others believed them, and therefore both classes marvelled equally, the one at his cunning and the other at his decision, and both were displeased, the former at his scheming and the latter at his change of mind. For already there were some who abhorred the democratic constitution as a breeder of strife, were pleased at the change in government, and took delight in Caesar. Consequently, though they were variously affected by his announcement, their views were the same. For, on the one hand, those who believed he had spoken the truth could not show their pleasure,—those who wished to do so being restrained by their fear and the others by their hopes,—and those, on the other hand, who did not believe it did not dare accuse him and expose his insincerity, some because they were afraid and others because they did not care to do so. Hence all the doubters either were compelled to believe him or else pretended that they did. As for praising him, some had not the courage and others were unwilling; on the contrary, both while he was reading and afterwards, they kept shouting out, begging for a monarchical government and urging

πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις
5 οὗ κατηνάγκασαν δῆθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ παραυτίκα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξατο,[1] ὅπως ἀκριβῆ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχῃ. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπεθύμησε.

12 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν τούτῳ τῷ[2] τρόπῳ καὶ παρὰ τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο, βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὣς δημοτικός τις εἶναι δόξαι, τὴν μὲν φροντίδα τήν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπεδέξατο, οὔτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν,[3]
2 οὔθ' ὅσων ἂν ἄρξῃ, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσειν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ,[4] τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα ὡς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἤτοι πολεμίους τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ'
3 ἑαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγῳ μὲν ὅπως ἡ μὲν γερουσία ἀδεῶς τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς καρπῶτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τούς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχῃ, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν καὶ ἄοπλοι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὦσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ὅπλα ἔχῃ καὶ στρατιώτας
4 τρέφῃ. καὶ ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία ἥ τε Ἀσία καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τό τε Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς

[1] διεπράξατο Bk., διεπράξαντο VM Xiph.
[2] τῷ Xiph., τε VM.
[3] ἄρξειν Bk., ἄρχειν VM Xiph.
[4] τῇ βουλῇ Xiph. Zon., om. VM.

every argument in its favour, until they forced him, as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power. His very first act was to secure a decree granting to the men who should compose his bodyguard double the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so that he might be strictly guarded. When this was done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in very truth. B.C. 27

In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the senate and by the people as well. But as he wished even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted all the care and oversight of the public business, on the ground that it required some attention on his part, yet he declared he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this was that the senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators should be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers. Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts, Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of

περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου, Σαρδώ τε καὶ Βαιτικὴ τοῦ τε δήμου
5 *καὶ τῆς γερουσίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος ἥ τε λοιπὴ Ἰβηρία, ἥ τε περὶ Ταρράκωνα καὶ ἡ Λυσιτανία, καὶ Γαλάται πάντες, οἵ τε Ναρβωνήσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνήσιοι Ἀκυιτανοί τε καὶ Βελγικοί,*[1]
6 *αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔποικοί σφων· Κελτῶν γάρ τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ῥήνῳ Βελγικὴν*[2] *κατασχόντες Γερμανίαν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἐποίησαν, τὴν μὲν ἄνω τὴν μετὰ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγάς, τὴν δὲ κάτω τὴν μέχρι τοῦ*
7 *ὠκεανοῦ τοῦ Βρεττανικοῦ οὖσαν. ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ ἡ Συρία ἡ κοίλη καλουμένη ἥ τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε*[3] *ἐγένοντο· ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δελματίαν*
8 *ἀντέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, ὥς που καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει· ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν χωρὶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρια τὰ*
9 *ἔθνη ἅμα ἤρχετο. τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὕστερον αὐτῶν προσεκτήθη,*[4] *τὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ τότε ἤδη ἐκεχείρωτο, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤρχετο, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτόνομα ἀφεῖτο ἢ καὶ βασιλείαις τισὶν ἐπετέτραπτο· καὶ*

[1] *Βελγικοί* Bs., *βελτικοί* VM.
[2] *Βελγικὴν* Bs., *βελτικὴν* VM.
[3] *τότε* M, om. V.
[4] *προσεκτήθη* V, *προσεκτήσθη* M.

Libya, Bithynia with Pontus which adjoined it, Sardinia and Baetica were held to belong to the people and the senate; while to Caesar belonged the remainder of Spain,—that is, the district of Tarraco and Lusitania,—and all the Gauls,—that is, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica, both the natives themselves and the aliens among them. For some of the Celts, whom we call Germans,[1] had occupied all the Belgic territory along the Rhine and caused it to be called Germany,[2] the upper portion extending to the sources of that river, and the lower portion reaching to the British Ocean. These provinces, then, together with Coele-Syria, as it is called, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Egypt, fell at that time to Caesar's share; for afterwards he gave Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis back to the people, and for himself took Dalmatia instead. This same course was followed subsequently in the case of other provinces also, as the progress of my narrative will show; but I have enumerated these provinces in this way because at the present time each one of them is governed separately, whereas in the beginning and for a long period thereafter they were administered two and three together. The others I have not mentioned because some of them were acquired later, and the rest, even if they were already subjugated, were not being governed by the Romans, but either had been left autonomous or had been attached to some kingdom or other.[3] All

B.C. 27

[1] See note on xxxviii. 34.

[2] Dio's name for Germany proper is Κελτική; when he uses the name Γερμανία, as here, he refers to the provinces of that name, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, both lying west of the Rhine.

[3] Cf. chap. 26 and liv. 9.

αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκετο, τῷ ἀεὶ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη.

13 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη οὕτω διῃρέθη, βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὣς ὁ Καῖσαρ πόρρω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη· τοσούτῳ τε γὰρ χρόνῳ καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσενεανιεύσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι, ἂν καὶ θᾶττον ἡμερωθῇ, θᾶττον 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει. κἀκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἄρχειν κατέδειξεν (ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις τὸν ὠνομασμένον ἱππέα, δι᾽ ἅπερ εἶπον, προσέταξεν)· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι, πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυπαιδίας ἢ 3 γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἔκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι μήτε ξίφος παραζωννυμένους μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν 4 ἐστρατηγηκότων ἢ δοκούντων γε ἐστρατηγηκέναι μόνον ὄντας, ῥαβδούχοις τέ σφας ἑκατέρους ὅσοισπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει νενόμισται χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἅμα

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[1] In li. 17, 1.

[2] The details of the earlier legislation of Augustus (cf. liv. 16, 1; lv. 2, 6) in the interest of more marriages and larger families are not clear; but as finally embodied in the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea* (cf. lvi. 10), the special privileges of a father of three legitimate children (the *ius trium liberorum*)

of them which came into the Roman empire after this period were added to the provinces of the one who was emperor at the time. B.C. 27

Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And wishing, even then, to lead the Romans a long way from the idea that he was at all monarchical in his purposes, Caesar undertook for only ten years the government of the provinces assigned him; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them, too, to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. This province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named,[1] for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage.[2] These governors were to be sent out by vote of the senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform; the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two ex-consuls but also to the others who had merely served as praetors or who held at least the rank of ex-praetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital; and they were

included the right to receive inheritances left to bachelors (who could not inherit), preference in standing for the various offices, including the right to be a candidate before the regular age or without the usual interval between offices, precedence before equals and colleagues, and exemption from certain civic obligations.

τῷ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καὶ διὰ παντὸς μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσιν ἔχειν ἐκέ-
5 λευσε. τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπό τε ἑαυτοῦ αἱρεῖσθαι καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, κἂν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὦσι, διέταξε. τῶν γὰρ δὴ δύο τούτων ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀνθησάντων, τὸ μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς αἱρετοῖς ὡς καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ[1] ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου προσῆκον ἔδωκεν, ἀντιστρατήγους σφᾶς προσειπών, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῖς ἑτέροις ὡς καὶ εἰρηνικωτέροις, ἀνθυπάτους αὐτοὺς
6 ἐπικαλέσας. αὐτὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα, τό τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου, ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐτήρησε, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω πάντας ὡς καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντας προσηγόρευσε. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπικλήσει τῇ τῶν ἀντιστρατήγων τοὺς αἱρετοὺς χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἑαυτῷ δόξῃ, ἄρχειν ἐποίησε, τήν τε στρατιωτικὴν σκευὴν φοροῦντας καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώ-
7 τας δικαιῶσαι ἔξεστιν, ἔχοντας. ἄλλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὶ οὔτε ἀνθυπάτῳ οὔτε ἀντιστρατήγῳ οὔτε ἐπιτρόπῳ ξιφηφορεῖν δέδοται, ᾧ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινὰ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξεῖναι νενόμισται· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, οἷς τοῦθ'
8 ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο συγκεχώρηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ῥαβδούχοις δὲ δὴ πέντε πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι χρῶνται, καὶ ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων εἰσί, καὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ

[1] τῷ πολέμῳ M, τοῦ πολέμου V.

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[1] *Legati Augusti pro praetore.*

[2] The expression to which Dio here refers is apparently the adjective *quinquefascalis*, found in inscriptional Latin.

to assume the insignia of their office immediately upon leaving the pomerium and were to wear them constantly until they returned. The other governors, on the other hand, were to be chosen by the emperor himself and were to be called his envoys and propraetors,[1] even if the men selected were ex-consuls. Thus, of these two titles which had been in vogue so long under the republic, he gave that of praetor to the men chosen by him, on the ground that from very early times it had been associated with warfare, calling them propraetors; and he gave the name of consul to the others, on the ground that their duties were more peaceful, styling them proconsuls. For he reserved the full titles of consul and praetor for Italy, and designated all the governors outside of Italy as acting in their stead. So, then, he caused the appointed governors to be known as propraetors and to hold office for as much longer than a year as should please him; he made them wear the military uniform, and a sword, with which they are permitted to execute even soldiers. For no one else, whether proconsul, propraetor, or procurator, has been given the privilege of wearing a sword without also having been accorded the right to put a soldier to death; indeed, this right has been granted, not only to the senators, but also to the knights who are entitled to wear a sword. So much for this. All the propraetors alike employ five lictors, and, indeed, all of them except those who were ex-consuls at the time of appointment to governorships receive their title from this very number.[2] Both classes alike assume the decorations

B.C. 27

All the editions previous to that of Boissevain gave "six lictors," an error corrected by Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, i². p. 369, note 4).

ἀριθμοῦ τούτου. τά τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα, ὅταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἑκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.

14 Οὕτω μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκ τε τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἄρχοντες ἀμφοτέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ἐνομίσθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὅποι τέ τινα καὶ ὁπότε ἤθελεν ἔστελλε, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες καὶ ὑπατεύοντες ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἔσχον, ὃ καὶ[1] νῦν 2 ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται· τῇ δὲ δὴ βουλῇ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς τε ὑπατευκόσι τήν τε Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπένειμε, κοινῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι 3 κληροῦσθαι. καὶ χρόνῳ μέν τινι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦσαν, ἐλάγχανον αὐτά· ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδή τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρχον, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσετέθησαν, καὶ οὕτω καὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς τρόπον 4 τινὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαρίθμους τε γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ, κληροῦσθαι κελεύει. αἱρετούς τέ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖσε ἔπεμψαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον ἔστιν οἷς ἄρξαι ἐπέτρεψαν· καί τινες καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἔθνη τινὰ προσέταξαν.

[1] καὶ Bk., τε VM.

of their position of authority when they enter their appointed province and lay them aside immediately upon completing their term of office. B.C. 27

It was thus and on these conditions that the custom was established of sending out ex-praetors and ex-consuls respectively as governors of the two classes of provinces. In the one case, the emperor would commission a governor to any province he wished and when he wished, and many secured provincial commands while still praetors or consuls, as sometimes happens even at the present day. In the case of the senatorial provinces, he assigned Asia and Africa on his own responsibility to the ex-consuls, and all the other provinces to the ex-praetors; but by public decree, applicable to all the senatorial governors, he forbade the allotment of any senator to a governorship before the expiration of five years from the time he had held office in the city.[1] For a time all who fulfilled these requirements, even if they exceeded the number of the provinces, were allotted to governorships; but later, inasmuch as some of them did not govern well, the appointment of these officials, too, was put in the emperor's hands. And thus it is, in a manner of speaking, the emperor who assigns these governors also to their commands; for he always orders the allotment of precisely the number of governors that there are provinces, and orders to be drawn whomsoever he pleases. Some emperors have sent men of their own choosing to these provinces also, and have allowed certain of them to hold office for more than a year; and some have assigned certain provinces to knights instead of to senators.

[1] This was merely a renewal of the decree of 52 B.C. which had remained in force. Cf. xl. 46, 2, and lii. 20, 4.

5 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε περὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τούς γε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἐνομίσθη. πέμπονται γὰρ καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτο, ἐς μὲν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα ἔθνη οἵ τε ταμιεύοντες, οὓς ἂν ὁ κλῆρος ἀποδείξῃ, καὶ οἱ παρεδρεύοντες τοῖς τὸ κῦρος τῆς 6 ἀρχῆς ἔχουσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὀρθῶς αὐτούς, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλέσαιμι, ἐπεὶ οἵ γε[1] ἄλλοι πρεσβευτὰς καὶ τούτους ἑλληνίζοντες ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ταύτης ἀρκούντως ἐν τοῖς 7 ἄνω λόγοις εἴρηται, τοὺς δὲ δὴ παρέδρους αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἕκαστος αἱρεῖται, ἕνα μὲν οἱ ἐστρατηγηκότες ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσιν ἢ καὶ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ ὑπατευκότες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων, οὓς ἂν καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ δοκιμάσῃ. ἐκαινοτομήθη μὲν γάρ τι καὶ κατὰ τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ταχὺ ἐπαύσατο, ἀρκέσει τότε αὐτὸ λεχθῆναι.

15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεται· πέμπονται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἕτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πλείω ἑνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντές σφων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμιευκότων ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἱρούμενοι.

[1] γε H. Steph., τε VM.

BOOK LIII

These were the principles established at that time in regard to the particular class of senators who had the right to inflict the death penalty upon their subjects in the provinces. For it should be stated that there is a class who have not this right,—those, namely, who are sent to the provinces styled the "provinces of the senate and people,"—I mean those who serve either as quaestors, being designated by lot to this office, or as assessors [1] to those who hold the actual authority. For this would be the correct way for me to style these officials, having regard not to their name, but to their duties as just described, although others in hellenizing their title call these also "envoys." [2] Concerning this title, however, enough has been said in what precedes.[3] As to assessors in general, each governor chooses his own, the ex-praetors selecting one from their peers or even from their inferiors, and the ex-consuls three from among those of equal rank, subject to the emperor's approval. For, although a certain change was made in regard to these men also, yet it soon lapsed and it will be sufficient to mention it at the proper time.

B.C. 27

This is the system followed in the case of the provinces of the people. To the others, which are called the imperial provinces and have more than one citizen-legion, are sent officials who are to govern them as lieutenants; these are appointed by the emperor himself, generally from the ex-praetors, though also from the ex-quaestors, or men who have held an office between the praetorship and the quaestorship.

[1] *Legati.* Cf. lv. 27, 6.

[2] *πρεσβευταί.* This, the literal translation of *legati*, was in fact the ordinary Greek term. [3] See chap. 13, 5.

2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευόντων ταῦτα ἔχεται, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἱππέων τούς τε χιλιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς βουλεύσοντας[1] καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, ὧν περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προείρηται, αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὰ πολιτικὰ τείχη μόνα τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ὥσπερ τότε

3 πρὸς τοῦ[2] Καίσαρος ἐνομίσθη· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τάς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ τὰ προστεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζομεν) ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη, τά τε ἑαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων πέμπει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τοὺς φόρους οἱ ἀνθύπατοι παρ'

4 ὧν ἄρχουσιν ἐσπράσσουσιν. ἐντολάς τέ τινας καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις τοῖς τε ἀντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐξίωσιν. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ[3] μισθοφορὰν καὶ ἐκείνοις

5 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ἐνομίσθη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἐργολαβοῦντές τινες παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φέροντα παρεῖχον· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρῶτον αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι τακτόν τι λαμβάνειν ἤρξαντο. καὶ τοῦτο[4] μὲν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσί σφισιν, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἡ χρεία ἀπῄτει, ἐτάχθη· καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ[5] ἀξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσ-

[1] βουλεύσοντας Dind., βουλεύσαντας VM.
[2] τοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ τοῦ VM.
[3] τὸ Bk., τὴν VM.
[4] τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM.
[5] τὸ τοῦ Bk., τοῦτο VM.

These positions, then, appertain to the senators. B.C. 27 Passing now to the knights, the emperor himself selects knights to be sent out as military tribunes (both those who are prospective senators and the others; concerning their difference in rank I have already spoken[1]), despatching some of them to take command of the garrisons of purely citizen-legions, and others of the foreign legions as well. In this matter he follows the custom then instituted by Caesar. The procurators (for this is the name we give to the men who collect the public revenues and make disbursements according to the instructions given them) he sends out to all the provinces alike, to those of the people as well as to his own, and to this office knights are sometimes appointed and sometimes even freedmen; but the proconsuls may exact the tribute from the people they govern. The emperor gives instructions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the propraetors, in order that they may be under definite orders when they go out to their provinces. For both this practice and the giving of salaries to them and to the other officials was established at this time. In former times, of course, certain persons had made a business of furnishing the officials with all they needed for the conduct of their office, drawing upon the treasury for the money; but under Caesar these officials now for the first time began to receive a fixed salary. This was not assigned to them all on the same basis, but approximately as their needs required; and the procurators, indeed, get the very title of their rank from the amount of the salaries assigned to them.[2]

[1] In lii. 25, 6 f.

[2] *i.e. centenarii*, *ducenarii*, and *trecenarii*, receiving one hundred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand sesterces respectively.

6 γίγνεται. ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγους σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, μήτ' ἀργύριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἤτοι ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἢ ὁ[1] αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειεν· ὅταν τέ τῳ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθῃ, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανιέναι.

16 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ὥς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη· τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων (λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο) καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρ-
2 χήσειν ἔμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελθούσης ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα καὶ ἄλλα δέκα,[2] πεμπτάκις[3] αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηρίδων[4] δια-
3 δοχῇ διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὅμως διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἑώρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὖθις τότε ἀνανεούμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.
4 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρότερον,[5] ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέχθη,[6] ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ τό τε τὰς δάφνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων

[1] ὁ supplied by R. Steph.
[2] καὶ ἄλλα δέκα supplied by Mommsen.
[3] πεμπτάκις Zon., πεμπτάκις ἃ VM.
[4] δεκετηρίδων Xiph., δεκαετηρίδων Zon., δεκετηρίων VM.
[5] πρότερον Rk., πρότερα VM.
[6] διελέχθη M, διελέγχθη V.

The following regulations were laid down for them all alike: they were not to raise levies of soldiers or to exact money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order; and when their successors arrived, they were to leave the province at once, and not to delay on the return journey, but to get back within three months. B.C. 27

These regulations were established at that time, to speak generally; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute control of all matters for all time, because he was not only master of the funds (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact, he always spent the former also as he saw fit), but also commanded the soldiers. At all events, when his ten-year period came to an end, there was voted to him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and then ten for the fifth time, so that by the succession of ten-year periods he continued to be sole ruler for life. And it is for this reason that the subsequent emperors, though no longer appointed for a specified period, but for their whole life once for all, nevertheless always held a celebration every ten years, as if then renewing their sovereignty once more; and this is done even at the present day.

Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence

αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύινον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ τούς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας
5 *σώζοντι ἐψηφίσθη. (καλεῖται δὲ τὰ βασίλεια παλάτιον, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε οὕτως αὐτὰ ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε, καί τινα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς ὄρους*[1]
6 *ἔλαβε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κἂν ἄλλοθί που ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καταλύῃ, τὴν τοῦ παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ἡ καταγωγὴ αὐτοῦ ἴσχει). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου*
7 *ἐπέθετο. βουληθέντων γάρ σφων ἰδίως πως αὐτὸν προσειπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τὸ τῶν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐσηγουμένων καὶ αἱρουμένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας*
8 *ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν ἐπεκλήθη· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότατα καὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα αὔγουστα προσαγορεύεται. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνίζοντές πως, ὥσπερ τινὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι,*[2] *προσεῖπον.*

17 *Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερουσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὴς μοναρχία κατέστη· μοναρχία γάρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἅμα τὸ κῦρός ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθέστατα ἂν νομίζοιτο.*

[1] *ὅρους* R. Steph., *ὅρου* V, *ὅρου* M.
[2] *σεβάζεσθαι* Zon., *σεβίζεσθαι* VM.

and to hang the crown of oak above them was then voted him to symbolize that he was always victor over his enemies and the saviour of the citizens. The royal residence is called Palatium, not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name, but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine[1] and had his military headquarters there, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the mount as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium. And when Caesar had actually carried out his promises, the name Augustus was at length bestowed upon him by the senate and by the people. For when they wished to call him by some distinctive title, and men were proposing one title and another and urging its selection, Caesar was exceedingly desirous of being called Romulus, but when he perceived that this caused him to be suspected of desiring the kingship, he desisted from his efforts to obtain it, and took the title of "Augustus," signifying that he was more than human; for all the most precious and sacred objects are termed *augusta*. Therefore they addressed him also in Greek as *Sebastos*,[2] meaning an *august* personage, from the passive of the verb *sebazo*, "to revere."

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In this way the power of both people and senate passed entirely into the hands of Augustus, and from his time there was, strictly speaking, a monarchy; for monarchy would be the truest name for it, no matter if two or three men did later hold the power at the

[1] In both Greek and Latin the common form of the name for the Palatine (Παλάτιον and *Palatium*) is the same as that for the imperial residence. It is hardly necessary to state that *Palatium* has given the English "palace."

[2] Cf. lii. 40.

2 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ μοναρχικὸν οὕτω δή τι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμίσησαν ὥστε μήτε δικτάτορας μήτε βασιλέας μήτ' ἄλλο τι τοιουτότροπον τοὺς αὐτοκράτοράς σφων ὀνομάζειν· τοῦ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολιτείας τέλους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ 3 βασιλεύονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὡς πλήθει γενόμεναι καὶ νῦν πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν καθίστανται, διάγεται δὲ καὶ διοικεῖται πάντα ἁπλῶς ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἀεὶ κρατῶν ἐθελήσῃ. καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ ἐκ δυναστείας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῦτ' ἔχειν δοκῶσι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μέγα παρ' ἑκοῦσί σφισιν ἴσχυσεν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς δικτατορίας προσεποιή-4 σαντο. ὕπατοί τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίγνονται, καὶ ἀνθύπατοι ἀεί, ὁσάκις ἂν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὦσιν, ὀνομάζονται· τήν τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν διὰ παντὸς οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντές τινας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς αὐτοτελοῦς σφων ἐξουσίας, ἀντὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ 5 τε δικτάτορος ἐπικλήσεως ἔχουσιν. αὐτὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνας οὐ τίθενται, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέπεσον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔργον αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορίᾳ βεβαιοῦνται. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν πολέμους τε ἀναι-6 ρεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην σπένδεσθαι, τοῦ τε ξενικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἄρχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς θανατοῦν δύνασθαι,

same time.[1] The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of "*imperator*" is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles "king" and "dictator." These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of those offices are secured to them under the appellation of "*imperator*." By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always,—even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium,—and all the other

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[1] See note on § 8 *inf.*

τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐταρχήσασί ποτε ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, λαμβάνουσιν·
7 ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ τιμητεύειν τούς τε βίους καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζουσι, καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταλέγουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτικόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπαλείφουσιν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς δόξῃ.
8 ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱερωσύναις ἱερῶσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς πλείους σφῶν διδόναι, ἀρχιέρεών τέ τινα αὐτῶν, κἂν δύο κἂν τρεῖς ἅμα ἄρχωσιν, εἶναι, πάντων αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν[1] κυριεύουσιν.
9 ἥ τε ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη, ἣν οἱ πάνυ ποτὲ ἀνθήσαντες ἔσχον, δίδωσί σφισι τά τε ἐπιγιγνόμενα ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινός, ἂν μὴ συνεπαινῶσι, παύειν, καὶ μήθ' ὑβρίζεσθαι, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ ἄκριτον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐναγῆ ἀπολλύναι.
10 δημαρχεῖν μὲν γάρ, ἅτε καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας πάντως τελοῦντες, οὐχ ὅσιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι· τὴν δὲ δὴ δύναμιν τὴν τῶν δημάρχων πᾶσαν, ὅσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξαρίθμησις τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἔτος αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων

[1] ἱερῶν R. Steph., ἱερέων V Xiph., ἱέρεων M.

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[1] Up to the time when Dio wrote these words it was true that when two or more jointly held the imperial power (as Marcus Aurelius with L. Verus, and Septimius Severus with

privileges once granted to the consuls and other officials possessing independent authority; and by virtue of holding the censorship they investigate our lives and morals as well as take the census, enrolling some in the equestrian and senatorial classes and erasing the names of others from these classes, according to their will. By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and of their right to bestow most of these positions upon others, as well as from the fact that, even if two or three persons hold the imperial office at the same time, one of them is high priest,[1] they hold in their own hands supreme authority over all matters both profane and sacred. The tribunician power, as it is called, which used to be conferred only upon men of the greatest influence, gives them the right to nullify the effects of measures taken by any other official, in case they do not approve it, and makes them immune from scurrilous abuse[2]; and if they appear to be wronged in even the slightest degree, not merely by deed, but even by word, they may destroy the guilty party, as one accursed, without a trial. The emperors, it should be explained, do not think it right to be tribunes, inasmuch as they belong altogether to the patrician class, but they assume the power of the tribunes to its full extent, as it was when it was greatest; and in numbering the years they have held the imperial office they use the tribunician power to mark the stages, the theory being that they receive it year by year along with those who are regularly

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his two sons) only one of them was *pontifex maximus*. But a few years later, in 238, Balbinus and Maximus both claimed the title.

[2] Cf. vol. i. p. 127 ff., xlix. 15, 5–6.

11 λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας ὥς που καὶ ἕκαστα ἐνομίσθη, οὕτω τε καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰλήφασιν, ὅπως
18 μηδὲν ἄνευ δόσεώς τινος ἔχειν δοκῶσιν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι, ὃ μηδενὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα ἄντικρυς ἐδόθη, προσεκτήσαντο, ὑφ᾽ οὗπερ καὶ μόνου καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν καὶ τἆλλα αὐτοῖς πράττειν ἐξῆν. λέλυνται γὰρ δὴ τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατῖνα ῥήματα λέγει· τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεώς εἰσι καὶ οὐδενὶ
2 τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τούτων τῶν δημοκρατικῶν ὀνομάτων πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἰσχὺν περιβέβληνται ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πλὴν τοῦ φορτικοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας αὐτῶν ἔχειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἥ τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθησι, δηλοῖ δ᾽ ἄλλως τὸ μὲν τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχήν, τὸ δὲ τὴν
3 τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ἥ γε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς, ἥν ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἔσχον, κατὰ πάντων ἡμῶν δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο ἀλλ᾽ ἔς τε τιμὴν καὶ ἐς παραίνεσιν, ἵν᾽ αὐτοί τε τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς καὶ

[1] That is, they measured the length of their reign by tribunician years, dating either from the very day when the tribunician power was conferred upon them (even if before

made tribunes.[1] These are the institutions which B.C. 27 they have taken over from the republic, essentially in the form in which they severally existed then, and also making use of these same names, their purpose being to create the impression that they possess no power that has not been granted them. And further, they have acquired also another prerogative which was given to none of the ancient Romans outright and unreservedly, and the possession of this alone would enable them to exercise the powers above named and the others besides. For they have been released from the laws, as the very words in Latin declare;[2] that is, they are free from all compulsion of the laws and are bound by none of the written ordinances. Thus by virtue of these democratic names they have clothed themselves with all the powers of the government, to such an extent that they actually possess all the prerogatives of kings except their paltry title. For the appellation "Caesar" or "Augustus" confers upon them no peculiar power, but merely shows in the one case that they are heirs of the family to which they belong, and in the other the splendour of their official position. The term "Father" perhaps gives them a certain authority over us all—the authority which fathers once had over their children; yet it did not signify this at first, but betokened honour, and served as an admonition both to them, that they should love their subjects as they would their

their accession, by way of designating them officially as successors to the imperial power), or (beginning with Trajan) from December 10th, the date of the regular tribunician elections.

[2] *Princeps legibus solutus est.* Ulpian (*Digest*, i. 3, 31); cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii³. 728 ff.

παῖδας ἀγαπῷεν καὶ ἐκεῖνοί σφας ὡς καὶ πατέρας αἰδῶνται.

4 Τοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦται αἱ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶν αἷς οἱ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες κατά τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἤδη πάτριον νομίζουσι. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολύ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους 5 ὡς ἕκασται ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μέν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς[1] διὰ βίου· οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο γίγνεται· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὔτε αἱροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτήν, οὔτε τῇ προσκλήσει[2] αὐτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρῶνται.

19 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρός τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη· καὶ γάρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πρα- 2 χθέντα λεχθῆναι δύναται. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον πάντα, καὶ εἰ πόρρω που συμβαίη, ἐσεφέρετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες τε αὐτὰ ἐμάνθανον καὶ πολλοὶ συνέγραφον, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φόβῳ τινὰ καὶ χάριτι φιλίᾳ τε καὶ ἔχθρᾳ τισὶν ἐρρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψασι τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι 3 τοῖς δημοσίοις τρόπον τινὰ εὑρίσκετο. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι' ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ἤρξατο, εἰ δέ πού τινα καὶ

[1] Δομιτιανὸς R. Steph., δομητιανὸς VM.
[2] τῇ προσκλήσει Bs., τὴν πρόσκλησιν VM.

children, and to their subjects, that they should revere them as they would their fathers. B.C. 27

Such is the number and nature of the appellations which those who possess the imperial power employ in accordance with the laws and with what has now become tradition. At present all of them are, as a rule, bestowed upon the emperors at one and the same time, with the exception of the title of censor; but to the earlier emperors they were voted separately at different times. As regards the censorship, some of them took it in accordance with the ancient practice, and Domitian, in fact, took it for life, but this is no longer done at the present day; for, inasmuch as they possess its powers, they are not elected to the office and do not use the title except in connexion with the census.

In this way the government was changed at that time for the better and in the interest of greater security; for it was no doubt quite impossible for the people to be saved under a republic. Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time can not be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and

δημοσιευθείη, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξέλεγκτά γε[1] ὄντα ἀπιστεῖται· καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατούντων τῶν τε παραδυνα-
4 στευόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ὑποπτεύεται. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ μὲν οὐ γιγνόμενα θρυλεῖται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα ἀγνοεῖται, πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄλλως πως ἢ ὡς πράττεται διαθροεῖται. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος τό τε τῶν πραγμάτων πλῆθος δυσχερεστάτην
5 τὴν[2] ἀκρίβειαν αὐτῶν παρέχεται. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Ῥώμῃ συχνὰ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ὑπηκόῳ αὐτῆς πολλά, πρός τε τὸ πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν γίγνεταί τι,[3] περὶ ὧν τὸ μὲν σαφὲς οὐδεὶς ῥᾳδίως ἔξω τῶν πραττόντων αὐτὰ γιγνώσκει, πλεῖστοι δ'
6 ὅσοι οὐδ' ἀκούουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι γέγονεν. ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐγὼ πάντα τὰ ἑξῆς, ὅσα γε[4] καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται εἰπεῖν, ὥς που καὶ δεδήμωται φράσω, εἴτ' ὄντως οὕτως εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρως πως ἔχει. προσέσται μέντοι τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δοξασίας, ἐς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ἐν οἷς ἄλλο τι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ θρυλούμενον ἠδυνήθην ἐκ πολλῶν ὧν ἀνέγνων ἢ καὶ ἤκουσα ἢ καὶ εἶδον τεκμήρασθαι.

20 Αὔγουστος μὲν δὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖον οὐ σμικρὸν εὐθὺς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγίσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν ὥστε πλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντεις ὅτι τε

[1] γε R. Steph., τε VM Xiph. [2] τὴν Xiph., om. VM.
[3] τι VM, τινα Xiph. [4] γε H. Steph., τε VM.

even though some things are perchance made public, B.C. 27 they are distrusted just because they can not be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates. As a result, much that never occurs is noised abroad, and much that happens beyond a doubt is unknown, and in the case of nearly every event a version gains currency that is different from the way it really happened. Furthermore, the very magnitude of the empire and the multitude of things that occur render accuracy in regard to them most difficult. In Rome, for example, much is going on, and much in the subject territory, while, as regards our enemies, there is something happening all the time, in fact, every day, and concerning these things no one except the participants can easily have correct information, and most people do not even hear of them at all. Hence in my own narrative of later events, so far as they need to be mentioned, everything that I shall say will be in accordance with the reports that have been given out, whether it be really the truth or otherwise. In addition to these reports, however, my own opinion will be given, as far as possible, whenever I have been able, from the abundant evidence which I have gathered from my reading, from hearsay, and from what I have seen, to form a judgment that differs from the common report.

Caesar, as I have said, received the name of Augustus, and a sign of no little moment to him occurred that very night; for the Tiber overflowed and covered all of Rome that was on low ground, so that it was navigable for boats. From this sign the

ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοι καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑποχειρίαν ἕξοι προέγνωσαν. χαριζομένων δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα,[1] Σέξτος τις Πακούουιος,[2] ὡς δ' ἕτεροι λέγουσιν Ἀπούδιος, πάντας ἐξενίκησεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἑαυτόν τέ οἱ τὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων τρόπον καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδή τε ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐμποδὼν οἱ ἐγένετο, πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος τὸ προσεστὸς ἐξεπήδησεν (ἐδημάρχει γάρ) καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, κατά τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερῶσαί σφας τῷ Αὐγούστῳ κατηνάγκασεν· ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ νῦν προστρεπόμενοι[3] τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι "σοι καθωσιώμεθα."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θῦσαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντας ἐποίει, ἔν τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἔφη τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐξ ἴσου τῷ υἱεῖ καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι τι εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· Αὔγουστος δὲ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὡς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ δὴ παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐνομοθέτει πολλά. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, χωρὶς ἢ ὅσα τῇ συγγραφῇ πρόσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα πραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου

[1] ἄλλα M, ἄλλαι V. [2] Πακούουιος Bk., πακούβιος VM.
[3] προστρεπόμενοι Bk., προτρεπόμενοι VM.

soothsayers prophesied that he would rise to great heights and hold the whole city under his sway. And while various persons were trying to outbid one another in different kinds of flattery toward him, one Sextus Pacuvius, or, as others say, Apudius,[1] surpassed them all. In the open senate, namely, he dedicated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards[2] and advised the others to do the same. And when Augustus hindered him, he rushed out to the crowd that was standing near, and, as he was tribune, compelled first them and then the rest, as he went up and down the streets and lanes, to dedicate themselves to Augustus. From this episode we are wont even now to say, in appealing to the sovereign, "We have dedicated ourselves to you."

B.C. 27

Pacuvius ordered all to offer sacrifice in view of this occurrence, and before the multitude he once declared that he was going to make Augustus his heir on equal terms with his own son,—not that he had much of anything, but because he hoped to receive still more; and so it actually turned out. Augustus attended to all the business of the empire with more zeal than before, as if he had received it as a free gift from all the Romans, and in particular he enacted many laws. I need not enumerate them all accurately one by one, but only those which have a bearing upon my history; and I shall follow this same course also in the case of later events, in order not to become wearisome

[1] Inasmuch as Sextus Pacuvius Taurus is first heard of (as tribune) in B.C. 9, it is probable that Apudius is the proper form to be read here.

[2] According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 11), the Celtiberians thought it wrong to survive a battle when the leader for whose preservation they had vowed their life (*spiritum devoverant*) had perished. Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* iii. 22.

γένωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεσφέρων ἃ μηδ' 3 αὐτοὶ οἱ πάνυ αὐτὰ μελετῶντες ἀκριβοῦσιν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα ἰδιογνωμονῶν ἐνομοθέτει, ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἃ καὶ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προεξετίθει, ὅπως, ἄν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ τινά, προμαθὼν ἐπανορθώσῃ· προετρέπετό τε γὰρ πάνθ' ὁντινοῦν συμβουλεύειν οἱ, εἴ τίς τι ἄμεινον αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσειεν, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλὴν ἔνεμε, καί τινα καὶ μετέ- 4 γραφε. τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον τούς τε ὑπάτους ἢ τὸν ὕπατον, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπατεύοι, κἀκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ἕνα παρ' ἑκάστων, ἔκ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν βουλευτῶν πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τοὺς κλήρῳ[1] λαχόντας, συμβούλους ἐς ἑξάμηνον παρελάμβανεν, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι κοινοῦσθαι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ νομοθετούμενα 5 νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γάρ τινα καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν, βέλτιον μέντοι νομίζων εἶναι τὸ μετ' ὀλίγων καθ' ἡσυχίαν τά τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω προσκοπεῖσθαι, τοῦτό τε ἐποίει καὶ ἔστιν 6 ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔκρινε μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καί τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων ἐχρημάτιζεν, ὅ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὖ συνελέγετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετό τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἤρεσκε.[2] 7 τοὺς γοῦν ἄρξοντας τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ τε

[1] κλήρῳ Xiph., κλήρους VM.
[2] ἤρεσκε Xiph. Zon., ἤρεσεν VM.

by introducing all that kind of detail that even the men who devote themselves to such studies do not know to a nicety. He did not, however, enact all these laws on his sole responsibility, but some of them he brought before the public assembly in advance, in order that, if any features caused displeasure, he might learn it in time and correct them; for he encouraged everybody whatsoever to give him advice, in case any one thought of any possible improvement in them, and he accorded them complete liberty of speech, and actually changed some provisions of the proposed laws. Most important of all, he took as advisers for periods of six months the consuls (or the other consul, when he himself also held the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials, and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of the senatorial body, with the result that all legislation proposed by the emperors is usually communicated after a fashion through this body to all the other senators; for although he brought certain matters before the whole senate, yet he generally followed this plan, considering it better to take under preliminary advisement most matters and the most important ones in consultation with a few; and sometimes he even sat with these men in the trial of cases. The senate as a body, it is true, continued to sit in judgment as before, and in certain cases transacted business with embassies and heralds, from both peoples and kings; and the people and the plebs, moreover, continued to meet for the elections; but nothing was done that did not please Caesar. It was he, at any rate, who selected and placed in nomination some of the men who were to hold office, and though in the case of others he adhered

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ὁμίλῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μήτ' ἀνεπιτήδειοι μήτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἢ καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀποδεικνύωνται.[1]

22 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν διῴκησε, λέξω δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ὅσα ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἐφ'[2] ὧν ἐγένετο, μνημονεύεσθαι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ προειρημένῳ ἔτει τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους δυσπορεύτους ὑπ' ἀμελείας ὁρῶν οὔσας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπισκευάσαι τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Φλαμινίας[3] αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκστρατεύσειν δι' αὐτῆς ἤμελλεν, ἐπεμελήθη.
2 καὶ ἡ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἐποιήθησαν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ὕστερον, εἴτ' οὖν πρὸς τοῦ δημοσίου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἡδέως ἀνήλισκεν, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τις εἰπεῖν ἐθέλει,
3 ἐπεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρῖναι τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῶν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὔγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς, πρός τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς δήμων τινῶν γεγονότας, ἐς νόμισμα κατέκοψε τοῦ δὴ καὶ οἴκοθεν
4 πάνθ' ὅσα γε καὶ ἔλεγε δαπανᾶν δοκεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτ' εἴ ποτε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ὁ ἀεὶ κρατῶν ἔλαβεν, οὔτ' εἴ ποτε αὐτὸς ἔδωκε,[4] γνώμην ἔχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γὰρ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τί ἄν τις ἐς δανείσματα ἢ καὶ δωρεὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταλέγοι,[5] ὁπότε καὶ

[1] ἀποδεικνύωνται R. Steph., ἀποδείκνυνται VM Xiph. Zon.
[2] ἐφ' St., ὑφ' VM.
[3] Φλαμινίας R. Steph., φλαμηνίας VM.
[4] ἔδωκε R. Steph., ἔλαβε VM.
[5] καταλέγοι Reim., καὶ λέγοι VM.

to the ancient custom and left them under the control of the people and the plebs, yet he took care that none should be appointed who were unfit or as the result of partisan cliques or bribery. B.C. 27

It was in this way, broadly speaking, that he administered the empire. I shall now relate in detail also such of his acts as call for mention, together with the names of the consuls under whom they were performed. In the year already named, perceiving that the roads outside the walls had become difficult to travel as the result of neglect, he ordered various senators to repair the others at their own expense, and he himself looked after the Flaminian Way, since he was going to lead an army out by that route. This road was finished promptly at that time, and statues of Augustus were accordingly erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum; but the other roads were repaired later, at the expense either of the public (for none of the senators liked to spend money upon them) or of Augustus, as one chooses to put it. For I am unable to distinguish between the two funds, no matter how extensively Augustus coined into money silver statues of himself which had been set up by certain of his friends and by certain of the subject peoples, purposing thereby to make it appear that all the expenditures which he claimed to be making were from his own means. Therefore I have no opinion to record as to whether a particular emperor on a particular occasion got the money from the public funds or gave it himself. For both courses were frequently followed; and why should one enter such expenditures as loans or as gifts respectively, when both the people and the emperor

τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπίκοινον ἀεὶ χρῶνται;

5 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ[1] Αὔγουστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν· ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαί[2] οἱ ἐδόκουν, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ἅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἦν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην.

23 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο αὐτός τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσε, καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας 2 τὰ Σέπτα ὠνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν· ὁδὸν μὲν γὰρ[3] οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ στοαῖς πέριξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνῳκοδομημένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίναις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου προσ-3 αγορεύσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως φθόνον τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὠφλίσκανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων 4 ἐτιμᾶτο (αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰ φιλανθρωπότατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλεέστατα τά τε συμφορώτατα καὶ συμβουλεύων οἱ καὶ συμπράττων οὐδ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντεποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὔτε ἐς πλεονεξίαν οὔτε ἐς ἀπόλαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρῆτο, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ

[1] ὁ supplied by R. Steph.
[2] ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαι Cobet, ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι VM.
[3] γὰρ M, om. V.

are constantly resorting to both the one and the other indiscriminately? B.C. 27

These were the acts of Augustus at that time. He also set out to make an expedition into Britain, but on coming to the provinces of Gaul lingered there. For the Britons seemed likely to make terms with him, and the affairs of the Gauls were still unsettled, as the civil wars had begun immediately after their subjugation. He took a census of the inhabitants and regulated their life and government. From Gaul he proceeded into Spain, and established order there also.

After this he became consul for the eighth time, together with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the Saepta; for instead of undertaking to repair a road, Agrippa had adorned with marble tablets and paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius, which had been constructed by Lepidus with porticos all around it for the meetings of the *comitia tributa,* and he named it the Saepta Iulia in honour of Augustus. And Agrippa not only incurred no jealousy on this account, but was greatly honoured both by Augustus himself and by all the rest of the people. The reason was that he consulted and coöperated with Augustus in the most humane, the most celebrated, and the most beneficial projects, and yet did not claim in the slightest degree a share in the glory of them, but used the honours which the emperor bestowed, not for personal gain or enjoyment, but for the benefit of the donor himself and B.C. 26

5 τῷ[1] δημοσίῳ συμφέρον), ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυρα-
6 μίδας ἐσέγραψε.[2] κατηγορήθη τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργου, ἑταίρου τέ οἱ καὶ συμβιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἠτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτᾶσθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῷ συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς
7 ἀπήνεγκαν,[3] καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἅπασα ἁλῶναί τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δοθῆναι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλγήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο,
24 τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ὅτι ἐκεῖνόν τε, ὃν τέως ἐκολάκευον, οὕτω τότε διέθηκαν ὥστε καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδήπερ αὔξειν ἤρχετο, μέλλοντές που καὶ κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἄν γέ τι τοιοῦτόν οἱ
2 συμβῇ, ψηφιεῖσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Προκουλέιος[4] οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ αὐτῷ τήν τε ῥῖνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαί τινι παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια

[1] τῷ cod. Peir., om. VM.
[2] ἐσέγραψε Xiph., ἐσέγραφε VM cod. Peir.
[3] ἀπήνεγκαν Pflugk, ἐπήνεγκαν VM cod. Peir.
[4] Προκουλέιος Bs., προκούλιος VM Xiph., Προκουλήιος Leuncl.

of the public. On the other hand, Cornelius Gallus was encouraged to insolence by the honour shown him. Thus, he indulged in a great deal of disrespectful gossip about Augustus and was guilty of many reprehensible actions besides; for he not only set up images of himself practically everywhere in Egypt, but also inscribed upon the pyramids a list of his achievements. For this act he was accused by Valerius Largus, his comrade and intimate, and was disfranchised by Augustus, so that he was prevented from living in the emperor's provinces. After this had happened, many others attacked him and brought numerous indictments against him. The senate unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, exiled, and deprived of his estate, that this estate should be given to Augustus, and that the senate itself should offer sacrifices. Overwhelmed by grief at this, Gallus committed suicide before the decrees took effect; and the insincerity of the majority of people was again proved by his case, in that they now treated the man whom formerly they had been wont to flatter in such a way that they forced him to die by his own hand, and then went over to Largus because he was beginning to grow powerful—though they were certain to vote the same measures against him also, if a similar situation should arise in his case. Proculeius, however, conceived such contempt for Largus that once, on meeting him, he clapped his hand over his nose and mouth, thereby hinting to the bystanders that it was not safe even to breathe in the

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3 εἴη. ἄλλος τέ τις προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ, καίπερ ἀγνὼς ὤν, μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἑαυτόν, ἐπειδή τε ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἄρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὃν οὐκ ᾔδει πρότερον συκοφαντῆσαι.
4 οὕτω δ' οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ ἔργα τινῶν, κἂν πονηρὰ ᾖ, μᾶλλον ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὰ παθήματα φυλάσσονται, ὥστε καὶ τότε Μᾶρκος Ἐγνάτιος[1] Ῥοῦφος ἀγορανομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καλῶς πράξας καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐμπρησθείσαις ἐπικουρίαν μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν μισθωτῶν ποιησάμενος, καὶ
5 διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθείς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ ὁλόκληρον
6 τῷ διαδόχῳ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτῳ οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Αὔγουστος ὀργὴν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαί τε ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπίμπρηται, κἂν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβῇ, κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.

25 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὅ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἔς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη,[2] καὶ προεδρία τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα
2 τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τόν τε Αὔγουστον ἐς τὴν

[1] Ἐγνάτιος H. Steph., αἰγνάτιος VM cod. Peir.
[2] ἀνεγράφη Naber, ἐνεγράφη VM.

man's presence. Another man, although unknown to him, approached him with witnesses and asked Largus if he knew him; then, when the other replied that he did not, he recorded his denial on a tablet, as though the rascal could not blackmail even a man whom he had not previously known. But we see how most men rather emulate the deeds of others, even though they be evil deeds, than guard against their fate, by what Marcus Egnatius Rufus did at this very time. He had been an aedile, and in addition to having performed his duties well in many other ways, had with his own slaves and other persons whom he hired helped to save the houses that took fire during his year of office, and in return for all this he had received from the people the amount of the expenditures incurred in the discharge of his office and had been elected praetor contrary to law. But he became so elated over these very honours and so contemptuous of Augustus, that he issued a bulletin to the effect that he had handed the city over unimpaired and intact to his successor. All the most prominent men became indignant at this, Augustus himself most of all; and he was not long afterward to teach the fellow a lesson, not to exalt his mind above the mass of mankind. For the time being, however, he ordered the aediles to take care that no building took fire, and if anything of the sort did happen, to put the fire out. B.C. 26

In this same year Polemon, the king of Pontus, was enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman people; and the privilege was granted the senators of occupying the front seats in all the theatres of his realm. Augustus was planning an

Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠθέλησαν ὁμολογῆσαι, στρατευσείοντα κατέσχον οἵ τε Σάλασσοι ἐπαναστάντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἵ τε Ἄστυρες πολεμωθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς Ἄλπεις, ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, οὗτοι δὲ ἑκάτεροι τοῦ τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ[1] πρὸς τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸ καρτερώ-
3 τατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὖσαν. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος (ἤδη δὲ ἔνατον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευεν) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλάσσους Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὃς πολλαχῇ ἅμα, ὅπως μὴ συστραφέντες δυσχειρωτότεροι γένωνται, ἐμβαλὼν ῥᾷστά τε αὐτούς, ἅτε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, ἐνίκησε,
4 καὶ συμβῆναι καταναγκάσας ἀργύριόν τέ τι ῥητόν, ὡς καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν ἄλλο δράσων, ᾔτησε, κἀκ τούτου[2] πανταχῇ πρὸς τὴν ἔσπραξιν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνέλαβέ τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδείς σφων
5 ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἐλευθερωθείη. καὶ αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρίστη τῆς γῆς τῶν τε δορυφόρων τισὶν ἐδόθη, καὶ πόλιν τὴν Αὔγουσταν πραιτωριανῶν ὠνομασμένην ἔσχεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αὔγουστος πρός τε τοὺς Ἄστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους ἅμα ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε προσεχώρουν οἱ ἅτε[3] ἐπὶ
6 τοῖς ἐρυμνοῖς ἐπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ἐς χεῖρας διά τε τὸ τῷ πλήθει ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκοντιστὰς τὸ πλεῖστον εἶναι ᾖσαν,[4] καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρά-

[1] τοῦ Reim., τοῦ τε VM.
[2] τούτου R. Steph., τούτου τοῦ M, τούτου τε V.
[3] οἱ ἅτε Dind., ἅτε Bk., οἷά τε VM. [4] ᾖσαν Dind., ἦσαν VM.

expedition into Britain, since the people there would not come to terms, but he was detained by the revolt of the Salassi and by the hostility of the Cantabri and Astures. The former dwell at the foot of the Alps, as I have stated,[1] whereas both the other tribes occupy the strongest part of the Pyrenees on the side of Spain, together with the plain which lies below. For these reasons Augustus, who was now consul for the ninth time, with Marcus Silanus as colleague, sent Terentius Varro against the Salassi. Varro invaded their country at many points at the same time, in order that they might not join forces and so be more difficult to subdue; and he conquered them very easily, inasmuch as they attacked his divisions only in small groups. After forcing them to come to terms he demanded a stated sum of money, as if he were going to impose no other punishment; then, sending soldiers everywhere ostensibly to collect the money, he arrested those who were of military age and sold them, on the understanding that none of them should be liberated within twenty years. The best of their land was given to some of the Pretorians, and later on received the city called Augusta Praetoria.[2] Augustus himself waged war upon the Astures and upon the Cantabri at one and the same time. But these peoples would neither yield to him, because they were confident on account of their strongholds, nor would they come to close quarters, owing to their inferior numbers and the circumstance that most of them were javelin-throwers, and, besides, they kept causing him a

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[1] Probably in a lost portion of the work, perhaps Book xxii. Cf. Frag. 74 and Book xlix. 34. [2] The modern Aosta.

γματα αὐτῷ πολλά, εἴ που κινηθείη, τά τε ὑπερδέξια ἀεὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τοῖς τε ὑλώδεσιν ἐνεδρεύοντες παρεῖχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ
7 παντάπασιν ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρράκωνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἠρρώστει· Γάιος δὲ Ἀντίστιος προσεπολέμησέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ
8 Αὐγούστου στρατηγὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὁμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησαν καὶ ἐνικήθησαν.[1] καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τέ τινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα Καρίσιος τήν τε Λαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἀστύρων πόλισμα ἐκλειφθὲν εἷλε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο.

26 Πανσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὔγουστος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὔγουσταν Ἠμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ' ἔχουσι θέας τινὰς διά τε τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ὡς καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις[2]
2 ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰούβᾳ τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπείπερ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο,
3 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκε· τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖον ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τά τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντᾳ προσνεμη-

[1] ἐνικήθησαν M, ἐκινήθησαν V.
[2] τοῖς στρατοπέδοις R. Steph., στρατοῖς VM.

great deal of annoyance, always forestalling nim by seizing the higher ground whenever a manœuvre was attempted, and lying in ambush for him in the valleys and woods. Accordingly Augustus found himself in very great embarrassment, and having fallen ill from over-exertion and anxiety, he retired to Tarraco and there remained in poor health. Meanwhile Gaius Antistius fought against them and accomplished a good deal, not because he was a better general than Augustus, but because the barbarians felt contempt for him and so joined battle with the Romans and were defeated. In this way he captured a few places, and afterwards Titus[1] Carisius took Lancia, the principal fortress of the Astures, after it had been abandoned, and also won over many other places. B.C. 25

Upon the conclusion of this war Augustus discharged the more aged of his soldiers and allowed them to found a city in Lusitania, called Augusta Emerita.[2] For those who were still of military age he arranged some exhibitions in the very camps, under the direction of Tiberius and Marcellus, since they were aediles. To Juba he gave portions of Gaetulia in return for the prince's hereditary domain, the most of whose inhabitants had been enrolled in the Roman state, and also the possessions of Bocchus and Bogud. On the death of Amyntas he did not entrust his kingdom to the sons of the deceased, but made it part of the subject territory. Thus Galatia together with Lycaonia obtained a Roman governor, and the portions of Pamphylia formerly assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own

[1] Possibly this praenomen is an error for Publius.
[2] The modern Merida.

4 *θέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Μᾶρκος Οὐινίκιος Κελτῶν τινας μετελθών, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν χώραν σφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβόντες ἔφθειραν, τὸ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ*
5 *αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσθη μέν που καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε γενομένοις· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀψίς τε ἐν ταῖς*[1] *Ἄλπεσι τροπαιοφόρος*[2] *οἱ ᾠκοδομήθη, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη τοῦ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῷ*[3] *στεφάνῳ καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ νικητηρίᾳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι.*

Αὔγουστος μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι'
27 *αὐτοὺς ἔκλεισεν,*[4] *Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν στοὰν τὴν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὠνομασμένην καὶ ἐξῳκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γραφῇ ἐπελάμπρυνε, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πυριατήριον τὸ Λακωνικὸν κατεσκεύασε· Λακωνικὸν γὰρ τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἐπειδήπερ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνοῦσθαί τε ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ καὶ λίπα ἀσκεῖν μάλιστα*
2 *ἐδόκουν, ἐπεκάλεσε. τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν.*
3 *ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν*[5] *ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγου-*

[1] *ταῖς* Bk., *τοῖς* VM. [2] *τροπαιοφόρος* M, *τροπαιοφόροις* V.
[3] *τῷ* Rk., *τῷ τε* VM. [4] *ἔκλεισεν* M, om. V.
[5] *οὖν* M, om. V.

district. About this same time Marcus Vinicius took vengeance upon some of the Germans because they had arrested and slain Romans who entered their country to trade with them; and thus he, too, caused the title of *imperator* to be bestowed upon Augustus. For this and his other exploits of this period a triumph, as well as the title, was voted to Augustus; but as he did not care to celebrate it, a triumphal arch was erected in the Alps in his honour and he was granted the right always to wear both the crown and the triumphal garb on the first day of the year. B.C. 25

After these achievements in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars. Meanwhile Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense. First, in honour of the naval victories he completed the building called the Basilica of Neptune and lent it added brilliance by the painting representing the Argonauts. Next he constructed the Laconian sudatorium. He gave the name "Laconian" to the gymnasium because the Lacedaemonians had a greater reputation at that time than anybody else for stripping and exercising after anointing themselves with oil. Also he completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens.[1] Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to

[1] The present Pantheon, as is now recognized, dates from the reign of Hadrian. The vast rotunda is surmounted by a dome, in the centre of which there is a circular opening nearly thirty feet in diameter for the admission of light.

στον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρῦσαι, τήν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος,[1] ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας
4 ἔστησε. καὶ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον λιπαροῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἐνδελεχοῦς σπουδῆς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Αὔγουστος ᾐτιάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐτί-
5 μησε. τούς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου μὴ δυνηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε[2] ποιῆσαι δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἀπὼν ἑώρτασε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκία ἡ ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὄρει, ἡ πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου γενομένη ὕστερον δὲ τῷ τε Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ τῷ Μεσσάλᾳ δοθεῖσα, κατεφλέχθη, τῷ μὲν Μεσσάλᾳ ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, τὸν δὲ Ἀγρίππαν
6 σύνοικον ἐποιήσατο. οὗτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐγαυροῦτο, καί τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αἰτίαν ἀγαθὴν ἔσχεν, ὅτι δημαρχῶν τὸν πατέρα, καίπερ ἐξελεύθερόν τινος ὄντα, ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρῳ παρεκαθίσατο. Πούπλιός τε Σερουίλιος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν, ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἄρκτους τε τριακοσίας καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἕτερα θηρία ἴσα ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ ἀπέκτεινεν.

28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ Γαΐου Νωρβανοῦ ἦρξε, καὶ ἔν τε τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ὅρκους ἡ βουλὴ βεβαιοῦσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ

[1] Καίσαρος M, κτίσματός V.
[2] τότε M, τοῦτο V.

bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself. This was done, not out of any rivalry or ambition on Agrippa's part to make himself equal to Augustus, but from his hearty loyalty to him and his constant zeal for the public good; hence Augustus, so far from censuring him for it, honoured him the more. For example, when he himself was prevented by illness from being in Rome at that time and celebrating there the marriage of his daughter Julia and his nephew Marcellus, he commissioned Agrippa to hold the festival in his absence; and when the house on the Palatine Mount which had formerly belonged to Antony but had later been given to Agrippa and Messalla was burned down, he presented money to Messalla, but made Agrippa share his own house. Agrippa not unnaturally took great pride in these honours. And one Gaius Toranius also acquired a good reputation because while tribune he brought his father, although a freedman of somebody or other, into the theatre and made him sit beside him upon the tribunes' bench. Publius Servilius, too, made a name for himself because while praetor he caused to be slain at a festival three hundred bears and other African wild beasts equal in number. B.C. 25

Augustus now became consul for the tenth time, with Gaius Norbanus as colleague, and on the first day of the year the senate confirmed his acts by B.C. 24

ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἤδη τῇ πόλει ἠγγέλθη (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἐχρόνισε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, 2 τό τε γράμμα τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πρότερον ἐκτεθῆναι πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἐκείνῃ συνδόξῃ, πάσης αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν νόμων ἀνάγκης ἀπήλλαξαν, ἵν', ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε ὅσα βούλοιτο ποιοίη καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀβουλοίη[1] 3 μὴ πράττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδημοῦντι ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τινὰ ἐπί τε τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῷ τε Μαρκέλλῳ βουλεύειν τε ἐν τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν δέκα θᾶττον ἔτεσιν ἤπερ ἐνενόμιστο αἰτῆσαι, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πέντε πρὸ ἑκάστης ἀρχῆς ἔτεσι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο 4 ποιῆσαι ἐδόθη· καὶ παραχρῆμά γε οὗτος μὲν ταμίας ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀγορανόμος ἀπεδείχθησαν. τῶν τε ταμιευσόντων ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιλειπόντων ἐκληρώθησαν ἐς αὐτὰ πάντες οἱ μέχρι δέκα ἄνω ἐτῶν ἄνευ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τεταμιευκότες.

29 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι οἵ τε Ἄστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς καταλιπών, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἐκφῆναί οἱ, σῖτόν τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βούλεσθαι

[1] ἀβουλοίη Dind., ἃ βουλοίη VM.

taking oaths. And when word was brought that he was already drawing near the city (for his illness had delayed his return), and he promised to give the people four hundred sesterces each, though he forbade the posting of the edict concerning the donatives until the senate should give its approval, they freed him from all compulsion of the laws, in order, as I have stated,[1] that he might be in reality independent and supreme over both himself and the laws and so might do everything he wished and refrain from doing anything he did not wish. This right was voted to him while he was yet absent; and upon his arrival in Rome various other privileges were accorded him in honour of his recovery and return. Marcellus was given the right to be a senator among the ex-praetors and to stand for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary, while Tiberius was permitted to stand for each office five years before the regular age; and he was at once elected quaestor and Marcellus aedile. And when there were not enough men to serve as quaestors in the provinces, all drew lots for the places who during the ten years previous had held the quaestorship without being assigned to any province.

B.C. 24

These, then, were the noteworthy occurrences that took place in the city at that time. As soon as Augustus had departed from Spain, leaving behind Lucius Aemilius as its governor, the Cantabri and the Astures revolted; and sending word to Aemilius, before revealing to him the least sign whatever of their purpose, they said that they wished to make a present to his army of grain and other things. Then,

[1] See chap. 18.

2 ἔφασαν, κἀκ τούτου στρατιώτας συχνοὺς ὡς καὶ κομιοῦντας αὐτὰ λαβόντες ἔς τε χωρία αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδειά σφισιν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἥσθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δῃωθείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινων καυθέντων, τό τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ἀεὶ ἁλισκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως ἐχειρώθησαν.

3 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεία καινὴ ἀρχήν τε ἅμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ἀραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἧς Σαβὼς ἐβασίλευεν,[1] Αἴλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου 4 ἄρχων ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἐς μὲν ὄψιν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τήν γε πρώτην ἦλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρει· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐρημία[2] καὶ ὁ ἥλιος τά τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἄτοπον ἔχοντα πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὥστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ 5 φθαρῆναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων ὅμοιον ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκῆψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγιγνομένων ἔς τε τὰ σκέλη κατῄει, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα[3] ἐλυμαίνετο, ἴαμά τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις ἔλαιον οἴνῳ μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπιε 6 καὶ ἠλείψατο. ὅπερ που πάνυ ὀλίγοις σφῶν ὑπῆρξε ποιῆσαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν φέρει οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἄφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάδατο.[4] κἀν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροί

[1] ἐβασίλευεν M Xiph. (cod. V) Zon., ἐβασίλευσεν V Xiph. (cod. C). [2] ἐρημία R. Steph., ἠρεμία VM.

[3] ἐκεῖνα Rk., ἐκεῖνά τε VM.

[4] προπαρεσκευάδατο Bk., προπαρεσκευάσαντο VM, (ἐκείνοις) προπαρεσκεύαστο Zon.

after securing a considerable number of soldiers, B.C. 24 ostensibly to take back the presents, they conducted them to places suitable for their purpose and murdered them. Their satisfaction, however, was short-lived; for their country was devastated, some of their forts burned, and, worst of all, the hands of all who were caught were cut off, and so they were quickly subdued.

While this was going on, another and a new campaign had at once its beginning and its end. It was conducted by Aelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, against the country called Arabia Felix, of which Sabos was king. At first Aelius encountered no one, yet he did not proceed without difficulty; for the desert, the sun, and the water (which had some peculiar nature) all caused his men great distress, so that the larger part of the army perished. The malady proved to be unlike any of the common complaints, but attacked the head and caused it to become parched, killing forthwith most of those who were attacked, but in the case of those who survived this stage it descended to the legs, skipping all the intervening parts of the body, and caused dire injury to them. There was no remedy for it except a mixture of olive-oil and wine, both taken as a drink and used as an ointment; and this remedy naturally lay within reach of only a few of them, since the country produces neither of these articles and the men had not prepared an abundant supply of them beforehand. In the midst of this trouble the barbarians also fell

7 σφισι προσεπέθεντο. τέως μὲν γὰρ ἥττους, ὁπότε γε καὶ[1] προσμίξειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγίγνοντο, καί τινα καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλλον· τότε δὲ συμμάχῳ τῇ νόσῳ αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τά τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς 8 χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὗτοι, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τῆς Ἀραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον· μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Ἀθλούλων καλουμένων, χωρίου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἐχώρησαν.

30 Ὁ δ' Αὔγουστος ἑνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος ἄρξας ἠρρώστησεν αὖθις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν· πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων διέθετο, καὶ τάς τε[2] ἀρχὰς τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε, 2 καίτοι τὸν Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ἐς τοῦτο προσδοκώντων, διαλεχθεὶς δέ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τάς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίον ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸν 3 δακτύλιον ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἔτι[3] μηδὲ τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Ἀντώνιός τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρά τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις (ἀπελεύθερος γὰρ ἦν) χρῆσθαι τήν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνοις, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὖσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἔλαβεν. 4 ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τά τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς

[1] γε καὶ M Xiph., γε V. [2] τάς τε Xiph., τάς γε VM.
[3] ἔτι "N" in Reimar's ed., ὅτι VM.

upon them. For hitherto they had been defeated whenever they joined battle, and had even been losing some places; but now, with the disease as their ally, they not only won back their own possessions, but also drove the survivors of the expedition out of the country. These were the first of the Romans, and, I believe, the only ones, to traverse so much of this part of Arabia for the purpose of making war; for they advanced as far as the place called Athlula, a famous locality.[1] B.C. 24

When Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, with Calpurnius Piso, he fell so ill once more as to have no hope of recovery; at any rate, he arranged everything as if he were about to die, and gathered about him the magistrates and the foremost senators and knights. He did not, to be sure, appoint a successor, though all were expecting that Marcellus would be preferred for this position, but after talking with them awhile about the public affairs, he gave Piso the list of the forces and of the public revenues written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa. And although he lost the power of attending even to the most urgent matters, yet a certain Antonius Musa restored him to health by means of cold baths and cold potions. For this, Musa received a great deal of money from both Augustus and the senate, as well as the right to wear gold rings (for he was a freedman), and he was granted exemption from taxes, both for himself and for the members of his profession, not only those living at the time but also those of future generations. But it was fated that he who had taken to himself the functions of Fortune or B.C. 23

[1] The place has not been identified; Strabo (xvi. 4, 24) calls it Athrula.

πεπρωμένης ἔργα προσποιούμενον παρὰ πόδας ἁλῶναι, ὁ μὲν Αὔγουστος οὕτως ἐσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκελλος νοσήσας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μούσα τρόπον
5 θεραπευόμενος ἀπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Αὔγουστος δημοσίᾳ τε ἔθαψεν, ἐπαινέσας ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, καὶ ἐς τὸ μνημεῖον ὃ ᾠκοδομεῖτο κατέθετο, τῇ τε μνήμῃ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ προκαταβληθέντος μὲν
6 ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δὲ ὠνομασμένου ἐτίμησεν, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν δίφρον τε ἀρχικὸν ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πανηγύρει ἐσφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν τελούντων αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.

31 Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἔπραξε, τότε δὲ σωθεὶς τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ ἀναλέξασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος[1] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδένα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλελοιπὼς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνέγνω· οὐδεὶς γὰρ
2 ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐθαύμαζον μέντοι καὶ πάνυ πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ ὡς γαμβρὸν καὶ ὡς ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ ἄλλας τε αὐτῷ τιμὰς διδοὺς καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορανομίας
3 ἐπετέλει συνδιαθεὶς λαμπρῶς, ὥστε τήν τε ἀγορὰν ἐν παντὶ τῷ θέρει[2] παραπετάσμασι κατὰ κορυφὴν διαλαβεῖν καὶ ὀρχηστήν τινα ἱππέα γυναῖκά τε ἐπιφανῆ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐσαγαγεῖν, ὅμως τὴν μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
4 τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου γνώμῃ ἐθάρσει,

[1] ἐνδεικνύμενος M Zon., ἐνδεικνυμένοις V.
[2] θέρει Bk. following Xiph., θέρει ἐν VM.

Destiny should speedily be caught in her toils; for though Augustus had been saved in this manner, yet when Marcellus fell ill not long afterward and was treated in the same way by Musa, he died. Augustus gave him a public burial after the customary eulogies, placing him in the tomb which he was building, and as a memorial to him finished the theatre whose foundations had already been laid by the former Caesar[1] and which was now called the theatre of Marcellus. And he ordered also that a golden image of the deceased, a golden crown, and a curule chair should be carried into the theatre at the Ludi Romani and should be placed in the midst of the officials having charge of the games.

B.C. 23

This he did later; at the time, after being restored to health, he brought his will into the senate and desired to read it, by way of showing people that he had left no successor to his realm; but he did not read it, for none would permit it. Absolutely everybody, however, was astonished at him because, although he loved Marcellus both as son-in-law and nephew, and in addition to other honours shown him had to such an extent helped him make a brilliant success of the festival which he gave as aedile that he had sheltered the Forum during the whole summer by means of curtains stretched overhead and had exhibited on the stage a dancer who was a knight, and also a woman of high birth, nevertheless he had not entrusted to him the monarchy, but actually had preferred Agrippa before him. Thus it would appear that he was not yet confident of the youth's judg-

[1] Suetonius (*Aug.* 29, 4) names this theatre among various other buildings which Augustus "*nomine alieno . . . fecit.*"

ἀλλ' ἤτοι τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ἢ καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν ἠθέλησεν· εὖ τε γὰρ ἠπίστατο προσφιλῆ σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπε-
32 σθαι. ῥαΐσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβή τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταὐτῷ οὖσι συμβῇ, ἔστειλε. καὶ ὃς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.

2 Ταῦτά τε οὕτως ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγοὺς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλειόνων δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο. ἔμελλον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει ὅσα
3 ἔτη γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἕκαστα, ἀπεῖπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ[1] Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθών· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ἐξ οὗπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι' ἔτους ἦρξαν, ἐπισχεῖν τε τοῦτο αὖθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι ὑπατεύωσιν, ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως αὐτὸ

[1] τὸ supplied by Bs.

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[1] D. Magie ("The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 B.C.," in *Classical Philology*, iii., 1908, 145 ff.) points out the difficulties in the popular version of Agrippa's journey to Lesbos, and suggests that he was in reality sent out by

ment, and that he either wished the people to regain their liberty or for Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. For he well understood that Agrippa was exceedingly beloved by them and he preferred not to seem to be committing the supreme power to him on his own responsibility. When he recovered, therefore, and learned that Marcellus because of this was not friendly toward Agrippa, he immediately sent the latter to Syria, so that no occasion for scoffing or for skirmishing might arise between them by their being together.[1] And Agrippa straightway set out from the city, but did not reach Syria; instead, acting with even more than his usual moderation,[2] he sent his lieutenants thither, and tarried himself in Lesbos. B.C. 23

Besides doing all these things in the manner related, Augustus appointed ten praetors, feeling that he no longer required a larger number;[3] and this happened for several years. Most of them were to perform the same duties as formerly, but two were to be in charge of the financial administration each year. Having arranged these matters in detail, he went to the Alban Mount and resigned the consulship. For ever since conditions had become settled, both he himself and most of his colleagues had held the office for the whole year, and he now wished to end this practice, in order that as many as possible might become consuls; and he resigned outside the

Augustus on a diplomatic mission calling for secrecy—nothing less, in fact, than for the purpose of inducing Phraates to return the captured Roman standards and receive in return his son. Cf. chap. 33, 2 *inf.*

[2] Cf. liv. 11, 6.

[3] Under Julius Caesar the number had been as high as sixteen; see xliii. 49, 1, and 51, 4.

4 ἐποίησεν, ἵνα μὴ κωλυθῇ. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχε, καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σήστιον ἀνθείλετο, ἀεί τε τῷ Βρούτῳ συσπουδάσαντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα, καὶ ἔτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ἔχοντα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιούμενον· τό τε γὰρ φιλικὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησε.
5 καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ἡ γερουσία δήμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἑνός τινος ὅπου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ, ἔδωκε, τήν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἐσαεὶ καθάπαξ ἔχειν ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τῇ εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ' αὖθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόν-
6 των ἰσχύειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορες ἐν νόμῳ δή τινι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ δημαρχικῇ ἐχρήσαντο· τὸ γάρ τοι ὄνομα αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν δημάρχων οὔθ' ὁ Αὔγουστος οὔτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ ἔσχε.

33 Καί μοι δοκεῖ ταῦθ' οὕτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τιμηθεὶς λαβεῖν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέροις σφίσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης[1] αὐτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραάτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἷς ἀντενεκάλουν ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε,
2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπεὶς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διά-

[1] Τιριδάτης Dind., τειριδάτης VM (and similarly just below).

city, to prevent being hindered from his purpose. B.C. 23 For this act he received praise, as also because he chose in his stead Lucius Sestius, who had always been an enthusiastic follower of Brutus, had fought with him in all his wars, and even at this time kept alive his memory, had images of him, and delivered eulogies upon him. Augustus, it would appear, so far from disliking the man's devotion and loyalty, actually honoured these qualities in him. And because of this the senate voted that Augustus should be tribune for life and gave him the privilege of bringing before the senate at each meeting any one matter at whatever time he liked, even if he were not consul at the time; they also permitted him to hold once for all and for life the office of proconsul, so that he had neither to lay it down upon entering the pomerium nor to have it renewed again, and they gave him in the subject territory authority superior to that of the governor in each instance. As a result both he and the emperors after him gained a certain legal right to use the tribunician power as well as their other powers; for the title of tribune itself was taken neither by Augustus nor by any other emperor.[1]

And it seems to me that he then acquired these privileges as related, not by way of flattery, but because he was truly honoured; for in most ways he comported himself toward the Romans as if they were free citizens. Thus, when Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates came to settle their mutual recriminations, he brought them before the senate; and afterwards, when the decision of the question had been referred to him by that body, he did not

[1] Cf. chap. 17, 10.

γνωσιν τὸν μὲν Τιριδάτην τῷ Φραάτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἁλόντα κομίσασθαι.

3 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμον τέ τινα τῶν καταδεεστέρων ἀποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρνιος, καίτοι προηγορανομηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, ὅπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μνημονεύεται γενόμενον· κἀν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς δύο καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπολιάρχησαν, καὶ εἷς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἐς μειράκιά[1] πω τελῶν ὅμως ἦρξεν.

4 Αἰτίαν μὲν οὖν ἡ Λιουία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου ἔσχεν, ὅτι τῶν υἱέων αὐτῆς προετετίμητο· ἐς ἀμφίβολον δ' οὖν ἡ ὑποψία αὕτη καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα, οὕτω νοσωδῶν γενομένων[2] ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπολέσθαι, κατέστη. 5 καὶ φιλεῖ γάρ πως ἀεί τι πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μὲν λύκος τε ἐν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, καὶ πῦρ χειμών τε πολλοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, ὅ τε Τίβερις αὐξηθεὶς τήν τε γέφυραν τὴν ξυλίνην κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν πλωτὴν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.

[1] μειράκιά v. Herw., μειράκιόν VM.
[2] νοσωδῶν γενομένων Bk., νοσώδους γενομένου VM.

surrender Tiridates to Phraates, but sent back to the latter his son whom he had once received from him and was keeping,[1] on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of Crassus and of Antony should be returned. B.C. 23

During this same year one of the minor aediles died and Gaius Calpurnius succeded him, in spite of having served previously as one of the major aediles.[2] This is not recorded as having occurred in the case of any other man. During the Feriae there were two prefects of the city for each day; and one of them held the office in spite of the fact that he had not yet the standing even of a youth.

Livia, now, was accused of having caused the death of Marcellus, because he had been preferred before her sons; but the justice of this suspicion became a matter of controversy by reason of the character both of that year and of the year following, which proved so unhealthful that great numbers perished during them. And, just as it usually happens that some sign occurs before such events, so on this occasion a wolf was caught in the city, fire and storm damaged many buildings, and the Tiber, rising, carried away the wooden bridge and made the city navigable for boats during three days.

[1] Cf. li. 18, 3.

[2] By "minor" and "major" aediles Dio means the plebeian and curule aediles respectively.

BOOK LIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων[1] κατέστησαν.
β. Ὡς ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ σιτηρεσίου ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων[1] κατέστησαν.
γ. Ὡς Νώρικον[2] ἑάλω.
δ. Ὡς Ῥαιτία ἑάλω.
ε. Ὡς αἱ Ἄλπεις αἱ παραθαλάσσιοι Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν ἤρξαντο.
ϛ. Ὡς τὸ[3] τοῦ Βάλβου θέατρον καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡς τὸ[3] τοῦ Μαρκέλλου θέατρον καθιερώθη.
θ. Ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἀπέθανε καὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον Αὔγουστος ἐκτήσατο.
ι. Ὡς τὰ Αὐγουστάλια κατέστη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τρία καὶ δέκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Μ. Κλαύδιος[4] Μ. υἱ. Μάρκελλος Αἰσερνῖνος[5]
Λ. Ἀρρούντιος Λ. υἱ. ὕπ.

Μ. Λόλλιος[6] Μ. υἱ.[7]
Κ.[8] Αἰμίλιος Μ. υἱ.[9] Λέπιδος ὕπ.

Μ. Ἀπουλέιος[10] Σέξτου υἱ.
Π. Σίλιος[11] Π. υἱ. Νέρουας ὕπ.

Γ. Σέντιος Γ. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος
Κ.[12] Λουκρήτιος Κ. υἱ. Οὐισπίλλων[13] ὕπ.

Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος
Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος Μαρκελλῖνος ὕπ.

Γ. Φούρνιος Γ. υἱ.[14]
Γ. Ἰούνιος[15] Γ. υἱ. Σιλανὸς ὕπ.

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[1] ἐστρατηγηκότων M, ἐκστρατηγηκότων V.
[2] Νώρικον Bs., Νώρικος VM. [3] τὸ supplied by Bs.
[4] Κλαύδιος H. Steph., κλ' VM.
[5] Αἰσερνῖνος Xyl., αἰσέρινος M, δισερῖνος V.
[6] Μ. Λόλλιος supplied by Xyl.
[7] Μ. υἱ supplied by Bs. [8] Κ. supplied by Xyl.

BOOK LIV

The following is contained in the Fifty-fourth of Dio's *Rome*:—

How road commissioners were appointed from among the ex-praetors (chap. 8).
How grain commissioners were appointed from among the ex-praetors (chaps. 1 and 17).
How Noricum was captured (chap. 20).
How Rhaetia was captured (chap. 22).
How the Maritime Alps began to yield obedience to the Romans (chap. 24).
How the theatre of Balbus was dedicated (chap. 25).
How the theatre of Marcellus was dedicated (chap. 26).
How Agrippa died and Augustus acquired the Chersonese (chaps. 28, 29).
How the Augustalia were instituted (chap. 34).

Duration of time, thirteen years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
22 M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus Aeserninus, L. Arruntius L. F.
21 M. Lollius M. F., Q. Aemilius M. F. Lepidus.
20 M. Apuleius Sex. F., P. Silius P. F. Nerva.
19 C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Q. F. Vispillo.
18 Cn. Cornelius L. F., P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus.
17 C. Furnius C. F., C. Iunius C. F. Silanus.

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[9] Αἰμίλιος M. υἱ. supplied by Bs.
[10] Ἀπουλέιος Bs., ἀπούλιος VM.
[11] Σίλιος Xyl., σειλ VM. [12] κ. Reim., λ VM.
[13] Οὐισπίλλων Dind., οὐισπιάλων M, οὐισσπιάλων V.
[14] υἱ. M, ὑπ V.
[15] Γ. Ἰούνιος Xyl., π οὐίνιος VM.

Λ. Δομίτιος Γν. υἱ.[1] Γν. ἔγγ. Ἀηνόβαρβος[2] ⎫
Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Π. ἔγγ. Σκιπίων ⎭ ὕπ.[3]
Μ. Λίουιος[4] Λ. υἱ. Δροῦσος Λίβων ⎫
Λ. Καλπούρνιος Λ. υἱ. Πίσων Φροῦγι[5] ⎭ ὕπ.[3]
Μ. Λικίννιος Μ. υἱ. Κράσσος[6] ⎫
Γν. Κορνήλιος Γν. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος ⎭ ὕπ.
Τιβ. Κλαύδιος[7] Τιβ. υἱ. Νέρων ⎫
Π. Κυιντίλιος[8] Σέξτου υἱ. Οὐᾶρος ⎭ ὕπ.
Μ. Οὐαλέριος[9] Μ.[10] υἱ. Μεσσάλας Βάρβατος[11] ⎫
Π. Σουλπίκιος Π. υἱ. Κυρίνιος ⎭ ὕπ.
Παῦλος Φάβιος[12] Κ. υἱ. Μάξιμος ⎫
Κ. Αἴλιος[13] Κ. υἱ. Τουβέρων ⎭ ὕπ.
Ἰοῦλλος[14] Ἀντώνιος[15] Μ. υἱ. ⎫
Ἀφρικανὸς Κ. Φάβιος Κ. υἱ. ⎭ ὕπ.[16]

Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ[17] ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Μάρκελλος καὶ Λούκιος Ἀρρούντιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἥ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αὖθις τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπλεύσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείῳ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν. πονούμενοι οὖν ὑπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
2 λιμοῦ (ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάσῃ ὁ λοιμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς εἰργάσατο· δοκῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω χωρίοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνηνέχθη) νομίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄλλως σφίσι ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καὶ τότε ὑπα-
3 τεύοντα τὸν Αὔγουστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτὸν ἠθέλησαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τήν τε βουλὴν

[1] Γν. υἱ. R. Steph., λν υἱ. VM.
[2] Ἀηνόβαρβος R. Steph., ἀνηόβαρβος M, ἀννόβαρβος V.
[3] ὕπ. supplied by Bs.
[4] Λίουιος Leopard, λ ἰούνιος M, λ ούνιος V.
[5] Φροῦγι (Φρυγὶ) R. Steph., φούρτιος VM.
[6] υἱ. Κράσσος supplied by Xyl.
[7] Τιβ. Κλαύδιος H. Steph., τ β κλ V, τιβ. κλ. M.
[8] Κυιντίλιος Xyl., κ υι VM.

B.C.

16 L. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius P. F. P. N. Scipio.

15 M. Livius L. F. Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso Frugi.

14 M. Licinius M. F. Crassus, Cn. Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus.

13 Tib. Claudius Tib. F. Nero, P. Quintilius Sex. F. Varus.

12 M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Barbatus, P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinus.

11 Paulus Fabius Q. F. Maximus, Q. Aelius Q. F. Tubero.

10 Iullus Antonius M. F., Africanus Q. Fabius Q. F.

The following year, in which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and

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[9] Οὐᾶρος M. Οὐαλέριος Xyl., οὐαυπτερος οὐάριος V, οὐ αυπ' γεροσουάριος M. [10] M. H. Steph., μάρκου VM.

[11] Μεσσάλας Βάρβατος Xyl., μέσσαλος ἄρβατος VM.

[12] Φάβιος Xyl., φλ VM.

[13] K. Αἴλιος H. Steph., και λ VM.

[14] Ἴουλλος Bs., ἰούλιος VM.

[15] Ἀντώνιος Xyl., ἀντωνῖνος VM. [16] ὑπ. supplied by Bs.

[17] ἐπιγιγνομένῳ Bk., ἐπιγενομένω VM.

κατακλείσαντες ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐπηνάγκασαν τοῦτο ψηφίσασθαι, ἀπειλοῦντές σφας καταπρήσειν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι λαβόντες προσῆλθον αὐτῷ,[1] δικτάτορά τε ἅμα δεόμενοι λεχθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου, καθάπερ ποτὲ τὸν Πομπήιον, γενέσθαι.
4 καὶ ὃς τοῦτο μὲν ἀναγκαίως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐκέλευσε δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε που ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σίτου διανομὴν κατ' ἔτος αἱρεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ δικτατορίαν οὐ προσήκατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα προσκατερρήξατο, ἐπειδὴ μηδένα τρόπον ἄλλως σφᾶς ἐπισχεῖν, μήτε δια-
5 λεγόμενος μήτε δεόμενος, ἠδυνήθη· τήν τε γὰρ ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς δικτάτορας ἔχων, ὀρθῶς τό τε ἐπίφθονον καὶ τὸ μισητὸν
2 τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτῶν[2] ἐφυλάξατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τιμητὴν αὐτὸν διὰ βίου χειροτονῆσαι βουλομένων ἐποίησεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπέστη, καὶ εὐθὺς ἑτέρους τιμητάς, Παῦλόν τε Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον καὶ Λούκιον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον, τοῦτον μὲν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Πλάγκου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπικηρυχθέντος ὄντα, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον αὐτὸν
2 τότε θανατωθέντα, ἀπέδειξεν. ἔσχατοι δὴ[3] οὗτοι τὴν τιμητείαν ἰδιῶται ἅμα ἔσχον, ὥσπερ που καὶ παραχρῆμα αὐτοῖς ἐδηλώθη· τὸ γὰρ βῆμα ἀφ' οὗ τι πράξειν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν

[1] αὐτῷ Zon., αὐτὸν VM. [2] αὐτῶν M, αὐτὸν V.
[3] δὴ V, om. M.

shutting the senators up in their meeting place, they forced them to vote this measure by threatening to burn down the building over their heads. Next they took the twenty-four rods[1] and approached Augustus, begging him to consent both to being named dictator and to becoming commissioner of the grain supply,[2] as Pompey had once done.[3] He accepted the latter duty under compulsion, and ordered that two men should be chosen annually, from among those who had served as praetors not less than five years previously in every case, to attend to the distribution of the grain. As for the dictatorship, however, he did not accept the office, but went so far as to rend his garments when he found himself unable to restrain the people in any other way, either by argument or by entreaty; for, since he was superior to the dictators in the power and honour he already possessed, he properly guarded against the jealousy and hatred which the title would arouse. He took the same course also when they wished to elect him censor for life; for, declining to take the office himself, he immediately appointed others to be censors, namely Paulus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, the latter a brother of that Plancus who had been proscribed, and the former a man who had himself been condemned to die at that same time. These were the last two private citizens to hold the censorship together, which was no doubt the meaning of the sign given to them; for the platform, on which they were to perform one of the functions devolving upon them,

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[1] The fasces; the dictator was regularly attended by twenty-four lictors. Cf. liii. 1, n. 1.
[2] *Curator annonae.* [3] Cf. xxxix. 9.

ἤμελλον, συνέπεσεν ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ καὶ συνετρίβη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' οὐδένες ἄλλοι τιμηταὶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἅμα 3 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε δὲ ὁ Αὔγουστος, καίπερ ἐκείνων αἱρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἔπραξε. τῶν τε συσσιτίων τὰ μὲν παντελῶς κατέλυσε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον συνέστειλε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου 4 δίδοσθαί τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαπειπὼν μήτε ἐς ἐκείνας οἴκοθέν τινα πλεῖον τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀναλίσκειν μήθ' ὁπλομαχίαν μήτ' ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο, μήτ' αὖ πλεονάκις ἢ δὶς ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔτει, μήτε πλειόνων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν· τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις τοῖς κουρουλίοις τὴν τῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων[1] κατάσβεσιν ἐνεχείρισεν, ἑξακοσίους σφίσι βοηθοὺς δούλους δούς. 5 ἐπειδή τε[2] καὶ ἱππῆς[3] καὶ γυναῖκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ που καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς γε[4] ἐν τῇ ἱππάδι δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτο δρᾶν.

3 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τό τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπεδείκνυτο,[5] ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαζεν, ὥστε καὶ 2 φίλοις τισὶν εὐθυνομένοις παραγίγνεσθαι. Μάρκου τέ τινος Πρίμου αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ὅτι τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχων Ὀδρύσαις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ

[1] ἐμπιμπραμένων Dind., ἐμπιπραμένων VM.
[2] ἐπειδή τε V, ἐπειδή περ M.
[3] ἱππῆς M, ἱππεῖς V.
[4] γε Rk., τε VM.
[5] ἐπεδείκνυτο V, ἀπεδείκνυτο M.

collapsed as they ascended it on the first day of their holding the office, and was shattered in pieces, and after that no others of the same rank as these became censors together. Even at this time, in spite of their having been chosen to the position, Augustus performed many of the duties belonging to their office. Of the public banquets, he abolished some altogether and limited the extravagance of others. He committed the charge of all the festivals to the praetors, commanding that an appropriation should be given them from the public treasury, and also forbidding any one of them to spend more than another from his own means on these festivals, or to give a gladiatorial combat unless the senate decreed it, or, in fact, oftener than twice in each year or with more than one hundred and twenty men. To the curule aediles he entrusted the putting out of fires, for which purpose he granted them six hundred slaves as assistants. And since knights and women of rank had given exhibitions on the stage even then,[1] he forbade not only the sons of senators, who had even before this been excluded, but also their grandsons, so far, at least, as these belonged to the equestrian order, to do anything of the sort again.

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Although in these measures he showed himself, in form as well as in name, both law-giver and arbitrary ruler, in his behaviour generally he was moderate, to such a degree, in fact, that he even stood by some of his friends when their official conduct was under investigation. Also when a certain Marcus Primus was accused of having made war upon the Odrysae while he was governor of Macedonia, and declared at

[1] Cf. liii. 31.

λέγοντος τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοτὲ δὲ τῇ Μαρκέλλου γνώμῃ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ἔς τε τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειέν οἱ πολεμῆσαι, ἔξαρνος ἐγένετο. 3 τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος τῷ Πρίμῳ Λικινίου[1] Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαντος, καὶ πυθομένου "τί δὴ ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν;" τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "τὸ δημόσιον." ἐπὶ οὖν τούτοις ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐπῃνεῖτο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ λαβεῖν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τινὲς κατεφρόνησαν αὐτοῦ. 4 ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἀπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἕτεροι ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνέστησαν. Φάννιος[2] μὲν γὰρ Καιπίων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καί σφισι καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας συνομωμοκέναι, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέχθη,[3] ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας 5 ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐρήμην μὲν ὡς καὶ φευξόμενοι ἥλωσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ ἐπήρκεσαν τῷ Μουρήνᾳ οὔτε ὁ Προκουλέιος[4] ἀδελφὸς ὢν οὔτε ὁ Μαικήνας τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τιμώ-6 μενοι. ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων τινὲς ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομοθέτησε μήτε κρύφα τὰς ψήφους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δίκαις φέρεσθαι, καὶ πάσαις αὐταῖς τὸν εὐθυνόμενον ἁλίσκεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ' οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ συμφέ-

[1] Λικινίου M, λικιννίου V. [2] Φάννιος Leuncl., φάνειος VM.
[3] ἐλέχθη M, ἐλέγχθη V. [4] Προκουλέιος Bs., προκούλιος VM.

one moment that he had done it with the approval of Augustus, and at another with that of Marcellus, Augustus came of his own accord to the court-room; and upon being asked by the praetor whether he had instructed the man to make war, he denied it. And when the advocate of Primus, Licinius Murena, in the course of some rather disrespectful remarks that he made to him, enquired: "What are you doing here, and who summoned you?" Augustus merely replied: "The public weal." For this he received praise from the people of good sense and was even given the right to convene the senate as often as he pleased; but some of the others despised him. At all events, not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a plot against Augustus. Fannius Caepio was the instigator of it, but others also joined with him. Even Murena was reported to be in the conspiracy, whether truly or by way of calumny, since he was immoderate and unrestrained in his outspokenness toward all alike. These men did not stand trial, and so were convicted by default, on the supposition that they intended to flee; and a little latter they were slain. Murena found neither Proculeius, his brother, nor Maecenas, his sister's husband, of any avail to save him, though these men were most highly honoured by Augustus. And inasmuch as some of the jurymen voted to acquit even these conspirators, the emperor made a law that in trials at which the defendant was not present the vote should not be taken secretly and the defendant should be convicted only by a unanimous vote. Now that he took these measures, not in anger, but as really conducive to

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7 ροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ διέταξεν, ἰσχυρῶς διέδειξε· τοῦ γοῦν πατρὸς τοῦ Καιπίωνος τὸν μὲν ἕτερον τῶν δούλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ υἱεῖ ἐλευθερώσαντος, ὅτι ἀμῦναί οἱ θνήσκοντι ἠθέλησε, τὸν δὲ[1] ἕτερον τὸν προδόντα αὐτὸν διά τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ γραμμάτων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ δηλούντων διαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-
8 σταυρώσαντος, οὐκ ἠγανάκτησε. κἂν ἐξηκέσατο πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένων τοῖς πραχθεῖσι μέμψιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θυσίας ὡς[2] καὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τινὶ καὶ ψηφισθείσας περιεῖδε καὶ γενομένας.

4 Τότε δ' οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας· καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι
2 καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο. καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναὸν καθιέρωσε· περὶ οὗ δύο ταῦτα παραδέδοται, ὅτι τότε τε ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ βρονταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄναρ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοιόνδε ἐπέστη. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, τὸ μέν τι πρὸς τὸ ξένον καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτι
3 ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἵδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι πρώτῳ οἱ ἀνιόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνετύγχανον, προσερχομένων τε αὐτῷ[3] καὶ σεβόντων, ἔδοξε τὸν Δία τὸν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ ὄντα ὀργὴν ὡς καὶ τὰ δευτερα αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκείνῳ τε εἰπεῖν ἔλεγεν ὅτι προφύλακα
4 τὸν Βροντῶντα ἔχοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, κώδωνα αὐτῷ περιῆψε, βεβαιῶν τὴν ὀνείρωξιν·[4]

[1] τὸν δὲ Bk., τινὰ δὲ VM. [2] καὶ θυσίας ὡς V, om. M.
[3] αὐτῷ R. Steph., αὐτῶν VM.
[4] ὀνείρωξιν M, ὀνείραξιν V.

the public good, he gave very strong proot; at any rate, when Caepio's father freed one of the two slaves who had accompanied his son in his flight because this slave had wished to defend his young master when he met his death, but in the case of the second slave, who had deserted his son, led him through the midst of the Forum with an inscription making known the reason why he was to be put to death, and afterwards crucified him, the emperor was not vexed. Indeed, he would have allayed all the criticism of those who were not pleased with what had been done, had he not gone further and permitted sacrifices to be both voted and offered as for a victory. B.C. 22

It was at this time that he restored to the people both Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis as districts no longer needing the presence of his armies; and thus proconsuls began to be sent to those provinces also. He also dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Concerning this temple two stories have been handed down, first, that at that time claps of thunder occurred when the ritual was being performed, and, second, that at a later time Augustus had a dream as follows. The people, he thought, approached Jupiter who is called Tonans and did reverence to him, partly because of the novelty of his name and of the form of his statue, and partly because the statue had been set up by Augustus, but chiefly because it was the first they encountered as they ascended the Capitol; and thereupon the Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place as compared with the other. At this, Augustus related, he said to Jupiter Capitolinus, "You have Tonans as your sentinel"; and when it was day, he attached a bell to the statue as confirmation of the

οἱ γὰρ τὰς συνοικίας νύκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφοροῦσιν, ὅπως σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὁπόταν δεηθῶσι[1] δύνωνται.

5 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οἵ τε Ἄστυρες ἐπολέμησαν αὖθις,[2] οὗτοι μὲν διά τε τρυφὴν καὶ δι' ὠμότητα τοῦ Καρισίου, οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνους τε νεωτερίζοντας ᾔσθοντο καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων Γαΐου Φουρνίου κατεφρόνησαν, ὅτι τε νεωστὶ ἀφῖκτο καὶ ὅτι ἄπειρον αὐτὸν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πραγμάτων εἶναι 2 ἔδοξαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοιοῦτός σφισιν ἐφάνη, ἀλλ' ἡττηθέντες ἀμφότεροι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (καὶ γὰρ τῷ Καρισίῳ προσήμυνεν) ἐδουλώθησαν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοὶ ἑάλωσαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσχον, οὐδὲ ζῆν 3 ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὰ ἐρύματα προεμπρήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐθελονταὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν, ἄλλοι δημοσίᾳ φαρμάκων ἐνεπλήσθησαν, ὥστε τό τε πλεῖστον καὶ τὸ ἀγριώτατον αὐτῶν φθαρῆναι· οἱ δ' Ἄστυρες ὡς τάχιστα χωρίον τέ τι πολιορκοῦντες ἀπηλάθησαν καὶ μάχῃ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐνικήθησαν, οὐκέτ' ἀντῆραν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐχειρώθησαν.

4 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον οἱ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκοῦντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ὠνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἡγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης· πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθά που Γάιον Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα προσιέναι,

[1] δεηθῶσι Dind., δυνηθῶσι VM.
[2] αὖθις Xyl., αὐτοῖς VM.

vision. For those who guard communities at night carry a bell, in order to be able to signal to the inhabitants whenever they need to do so. B.C. 22

These were the events that occurred in Rome; and at about this same period the Cantabri and the Astures broke out into war again, the Astures on account of the luxurious ways and cruelty of Carisius, and the Cantabri because they perceived that the others were in revolt and because they despised their own governor, Gaius Furnius, since he had but lately arrived and they supposed that he was unacquainted with conditions among them. Nevertheless, he did not appear to them that sort of man when it came to action; for they were defeated and reduced to slavery by him, and the Astures likewise, since he also aided Carisius. Not many of the Cantabri were captured; for when they had no hope of freedom, they did not chose to live, either, but some set their forts on fire and cut their own throats, and others of their own choice remained with them and were consumed in the flames, while yet others took poison in the sight of all. Thus the most of them and the fiercest element perished. As for the Astures, as soon as they had been repulsed while besieging a certain stronghold and had later been defeated in battle, they offered no further resistance, but were promptly subdued.

About this same time the Ethiopians, who dwell beyond Egypt, advanced as far as the city called Elephantine, with Candace as their leader, ravaging everything they encountered. At Elephantine, however, learning that Gaius[1] Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was approaching, they hastily retreated before

[1] Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* vi. 181) calls him Publius.

προαπῆλθον μὲν ὡς καὶ διαφευξόμενοι, καταληφθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἡττήθησαν, κἀκ τούτου καὶ 5 ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσαντο. καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀγωνισάμενος πόλεις ἄλλας τε[1] καὶ τὴν Ναπάτην[2] τὸ βασίλειον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν.[3] καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν κατεσκάφη, ἐν ἑτέρῳ δέ τινι χωρίῳ φρουρὰ κατελείφθη·[4] ὁ γὰρ Πετρώνιος μήτε περαιτέρω (διά τε τὴν ἄμμον καὶ διὰ τὸ καῦμα) προελθεῖν μήτε κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ μεῖναι καλῶς δυνηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε, τὸ 6 πλεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος. κἀν τούτῳ τῶν Αἰθιόπων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὖθίς τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβῆναί οἱ ἠνάγκασεν.

6 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐς Σικελίαν ἦλθεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνην καὶ τἆλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καταστήσηται. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἔτ' ὄντος ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ὑπάτους χειροτονῶν ἐστασίασεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαδειχθῆναι ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατου-2 μένους σφᾶς σωθῆναι. μικροῦ γοῦν τινος ἔν τε ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς κυριεύοντες ἐθορύβησαν. ἐτηρεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα χώρα τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μᾶρκος Λόλλιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ ἔτους μόνος ἦρξεν· ἐκείνου δὲ[5] μὴ δεξαμένου αὐτὴν Κύιντός τε Λέπιδος καὶ Λούκιος Σιλουανὸς ἐσπουδαρχίασαν, καὶ οὕτω γε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Αὔγου-3 στον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἀνακληθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ

[1] τε supplied by Rk. [2] Ναπάτην Dind., ταναπην VM Xiph.
[3] βασίλειον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν Xiph., βασίλειον ἀπέλαβεν VM.
[4] κατελείφθη Xiph., κατελήφθη VM. [5] δὲ M, δὲ δὴ V.

he arrived, hoping to make good their escape. But being overtaken on the road, they were defeated and thus drew him after them into their own country. There, too, he fought successfully with them, and took Napata, their capital, among other cities. This place was razed to the ground, and a garrison left at another point; for Petronius, finding himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him. Thereupon the Ethiopians attacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace to make terms with him. B.C. 22

While this was going on, Augustus went to Sicily in order to settle affairs in that island and elsewhere as far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman populace fell to quarrelling over the election of the consuls. This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for a democratic government to be maintained among them; at any rate, although they had but little authority either in the matter of the elections or of the offices themselves, they fell to rioting. One of the consulships, it seems, was being kept for Augustus, and accordingly at the beginning of the year Marcus Lollius alone entered upon office; but when the emperor would not accept the position, Quintus Lepidus and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw everything into such turmoil that Augustus was summoned home by those who retained their senses. He B.C. 21

οὐχ ὑπέστρεψε μέν, ἐλθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπιτιμήσας σφίσι καὶ κελεύσας ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπόντων τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡσύχασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ αὖθις διηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὸν Λέπιδον ὀψέ ποτε αἱρε-
4 θῆναι. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Αὔγουστος, καὶ μήτε μόνῃ τῇ Ῥώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ' αὖ ἄναρχον αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν τολμῶν, ἐζήτει τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίπ-
5 παν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι, βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ μεῖζον περιθεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ῥᾷον αὐτῶν ἄρχῃ, μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφιδῆν αὐτοῦ οὖσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἔπεμψε, διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικήνας συμβουλευομένῳ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστ' ἢ γαμβρόν σου
6 γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι." καὶ ὃς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰδοῦντα ἔτι εὑρὼν κατεστήσατο, τά τε ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεσιόντα αὖθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειπὼν μηδένα μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὀγδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν· ταραχῆς δέ τινος περὶ τὴν[1] τοῦ πολιάρχου τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἱρουμένου χειροτονίαν συμβάσης οὐκ ἐπεκράτησεν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἄνευ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον διεγένοντο.

[1] τὴν supplied by R. Steph.

would not return, however, and when the two candidates themselves came to him, he rebuked them and sent them away, giving orders that the vote should be taken during the absence of them both; thereupon the people were no more quiet than before, but fell into great strife again, until at last Lepidus was chosen. Augustus was displeased at the incident, for he could not devote all his time to Rome alone and did not dare to leave the city in a state of anarchy; accordingly, he sought for some one to set over it, and judged Agrippa to be most suitable for the purpose. And as he wished to invest him with a dignity above the ordinary, in order that he might govern the people more easily, he summoned him, compelled him to divorce his wife, although she was the emperor's own niece, and to marry Julia; and he sent him to Rome at once to attend both to the wedding and to the administration of the city. This step is said to have been taken partly on the advice of Maecenas, who in counselling him upon these very matters said: "You have made him so great that he must either become your son-in-law or be slain." Agrippa, then, checked whatever other ailments he found still festering, and curtailed the Egyptian rites which were again invading the city, forbidding anyone to perform them even in the suburbs within one mile of the city.[1] And when a disturbance arose over the election of the prefect of the city, the official chosen on account of the Feriae,[2] he did not succeed in quelling it, but they went through that year without this official.

B.C. 21

[1] Cf. note on li. 19, 6.

[2] The prefect of the city was appointed to have charge of the city during the absence of the two consuls in attendance upon the celebration at the Alban Mount.

7 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ διοικήσας, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας[1] ἑτέρας τέ τινας πόλεις[2] ἀποίκους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδείξας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη.
2 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τοῖς τε Κυθήροις καὶ τῇ συσσιτίᾳ ἐτίμησεν, ὅτι ἡ Λιουία, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας σύν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ υἱεῖ ἔφυγεν, ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν· Ἀθηναίων δὲ τήν τε Αἴγιναν καὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν (ἐκαρποῦντο γὰρ αὐτάς), ὥς τινές φασιν, ἀφείλετο, ὅτι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐσπούδασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀπηγόρευσέ σφισι μηδένα πολίτην
3 ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι συμβὰν ἀποσκῆψαι· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς[3] ἀνατολῶν ἱδρυμένον πρός τε τὰς δυσμὰς μετεστράφη καὶ αἷμα ἀπέ-
4 πτυσεν. ὁ δ' οὖν[4] Αὔγουστος τό τε Ἑλληνικὸν διήγαγε καὶ ἐς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν, ἐνταῦθά τε ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῷ ἦρι ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Ἀπουλέιος[5] καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν κομισθεὶς πάντα τά τε ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ
5 διέταξεν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὰ ποιησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντων σφῶν ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὄντων ἐπιμεληθείς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσαπερ καὶ προσῆκον ἦν ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς μὲν ἐπέδωκε τοῖς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν φόρον
6 ἐσενεγκεῖν προσέταξε. τούς τε Κυζικηνούς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἐν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδουλώσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους

[1] Συρακούσας R. Steph., συρακούσσας VM.
[2] πόλεις M, om. V. [3] πρὸς Reim., τῇ πρὸς VM.
[4] δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM. [5] Ἀπουλέιος Bs., ἀπούλιος VM.

BOOK LIV

While Agrippa was thus occupied, Augustus, after arranging various matters in Sicily and making Roman colonies of Syracuse and certain other cities, crossed over into Greece. He honoured the Lacedaemonians by giving them Cythera and attending their public mess, because Livia, when she fled from Italy with her husband and son,[1] had spent some time there. But from the Athenians he took away Aegina and Eretria, from which they received tribute, because, as some say, they had espoused the cause of Antony; and he furthermore forbade them to make anyone a citizen for money. And it seemed to them that the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune; for this statue on the Acropolis, which was placed to face the east, had turned around to the west and spat blood. Augustus, now, after transacting what business he had in Greece, sailed to Samos, where he passed the winter; and in the spring of the year when Marcus Apuleius and Publius Silius were consuls, he went on into Asia, and settled everything there and in Bithynia. For although these provinces as well as those previously mentioned were regarded as belonging to the people, he did not for that reason neglect them, but gave most careful attention to them all, as if they were his own. Thus he instituted various reforms, so far as seemed desirable, and made donations of money to some, at the same time commanding others to contribute an amount in excess of the tribute. He reduced the people of Cyzicus to slavery because during a factious quarrel they had flogged and put to death some Romans. And when he reached Syria, he took the same action

B.C. 21

B.C. 20

[1] Cf. xlviii. 15.

τούς τε Σιδωνίους διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν τῇ[1] Συρίᾳ γενόμενος.[2]

8 Κἀν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τά τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ[3] καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἳ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, 2 ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκὼς ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις[4] ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκονιτὶ ἐκεκό- 3 μιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεὼν Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἁψῖδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη. 4 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη· τότε δὲ αὐτός τε προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδῶν αἱρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἔστησε, καὶ ὁδοποιοὺς αὐταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ῥαβδούχοις δύο χρωμένους, προσέταξε. 5 καὶ ἡ Ἰουλία τὸν Γάιον ὀνομασθέντα ἔτεκε, βουθυσία τέ τις τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἀίδιος ἐδόθη· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὥσπερ που καὶ

[1] τῇ M, om. V.
[2] γενόμενος—τὸν τοῦ Κυρί (chap. 19, 4) omitted in V, whose archetype L had lost five folios at this point.
[3] αὐτῷ Xiph., αὐτῶν M.
[4] ἐπὶ τούτοις supplied by Reim. from Xiph.

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[1] That is, he celebrated an *ovatio*. [2] *Curator viarum.*
[3] The *milliarium aureum* stood at the north end of the Forum near the Temple of Saturn, marking the point where

in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on account of their factious quarrelling. B.C. 20

Meanwhile Phraates, fearing that Augustus would lead an expedition against him because he had not yet performed any of his engagements, sent back to him the standards and all the captives, with the exception of a few who in shame had destroyed themselves or, eluding detection, remained in the country. Augustus received them as if he had conquered the Parthian in a war; for he took great pride in the achievement, declaring that he had recovered without a struggle what had formerly been lost in battle. Indeed, in honour of this success he commanded that sacrifices be decreed and likewise a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to dedicate the standards; and he himself carried out both decrees. Moreover he rode into the city on horseback [1] and was honoured with a triumphal arch. Now all this was done later in commemoration of the event; but at the time of which we are speaking he was chosen commissioner of all the highways in the neighbourhood of Rome,[2] and in this capacity set up the golden mile-stone,[3] as it was called, and appointed men from the number of the ex-praetors, each with two lictors, to attend to the actual construction of the roads. And Julia gave birth to a boy, who received the name Gaius; and a permanent annual sacrifice on his birthday was granted. Now this, like all the other acts mentioned, was done in pursuance

all the great roads met. It was a column covered with gilt bronze, and was engraved with the names of the more important cities of the empire with their distances from Rome. Distances were actually measured, however, from the city gates.

τἆλλα, ἐγένετο· ἰδίᾳ δὲ δὴ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι ἱπποδρομίαν τε ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενεθλίοις καὶ θηρίων σφαγὰς ἐποίησαν.

9 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τὸ μὲν ὑπήκοον κατὰ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθη διῴκει, τὸ δὲ ἔνσπονδον τῷ πατρίῳ σφίσι τρόπῳ εἴα[1] ἄρχεσθαι· οὐδ' ἠξίωσεν οὔτε ἐκείνῳ[2] τι προσθέσθαι οὔτε ἕτερόν τι προσκτήσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐδι-2 καίου, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν. ὥστε πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν τότε γ' ἐφήψατο, δυναστείας δὲ δὴ Ἰαμβλίχῳ τε τῷ Ἰαμβλίχου τὴν τῶν Ἀραβίων τὴν πατρῴαν καὶ Ταρκονδιμότῳ τῷ Ταρκονδιμότου τὴν τῆς Κιλικίας, ἥν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, πλὴν παραθαλασσιδίων τινῶν ἔδωκεν· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ μετὰ τῆς σμικροτέρας Ἀρμενίας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι ὁ Μῆδος ὁ πρὶν αὐτῆς 3 βασιλεύων ἐτεθνήκει. τῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδώρου τινὸς τετραρχίαν, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τινὶ τὴν Κομμαγηνήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καίτοι παιδίσκῳ ἔτ' ὄντι ἐπέ-4 τρεψε. τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἑτέρων τοῦ τε Ἀρτάξου[3] κατηγορησάντων καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντα μεταπεμψαμένων, ἔστειλε[4] τὸν Τιβέριον, ὅπως τὸν μὲν ἐκβάλῃ τῆς βασιλείας, τὸν δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποκατα-5 στήσῃ. καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν οὐδὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ ἄξιον· οἱ γὰρ Ἀρμένιοι τὸν Ἀρτάξην προαπέκτειναν· ὁ δ' οὖν Τιβέριος, ἄλλως τε καὶ

[1] εἴα Leuncl., ἀεὶ M. [2] ἐκείνῳ Bk., ἐκείνων M.
[3] Ἀρτάξου St., ἀρτάζου M (and similarly just below).
[4] ἔστειλε Bk., μετέστειλε M.

of a decree; on their own initiative, however, the aediles gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts on Augustus' birthday. B.C. 20

This is what was going on in the city. Augustus administered the subject territory according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted the allied nations to be governed in their own traditional manner; and he did not regard it as desirable either to make any additions to the former or to extend the latter by any new acquisitions, but thought it best to be satisfied with precisely what they already possessed, and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he undertook no war, at any rate for the time being, but actually gave away certain principalities—to Iamblichus, the son of Iamblichus, his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia, which his father had held, except for a few places on the coast. These latter together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede, who previously had ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus, and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death. And since the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent Tiberius to drive Artaxes out of the kingdom and to reinstate Tigranes. And although nothing was accomplished by Tiberius commensurate with his preparations, since before his arrival the Armenians slew Artaxes, yet he assumed a lofty bearing, especially after sacrifices had been

ἐπειδὴ θυσίαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐψηφίσθησαν, ἐσεμνύ-
6 νετο ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρετήν τι ποιήσας. καὶ ἤδη γε καὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐνενόει, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ[1] προσελαύνοντος θόρυβός τέ τις ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μάχης χωρίου ὡς καὶ ἐκ στρατοπέδου ἠκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐν τῷ ταφρεύματι ἱδρυθέντων αὐτό-
7 ματον ἀνέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μὲν δὴ ἐκ τούτων ἐγαυροῦτο, ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμον ἐπανῆλθε κἀνταῦθα αὖθις ἐχείμασε, καὶ ἐκείνοις τε ἐλευθερίαν μισθὸν τῆς διατριβῆς ἀντέδωκε,
8 καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα προσδιῴκησε. πάμπολλαι γὰρ δὴ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε ἐσπείσαντο, δῶρα πέμψαντες ἄλλα τε καὶ τίγρεις, πρῶτον τότε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὀφθείσας. καί τι καὶ μειράκιόν οἱ ἄνευ ὤμων, οἵους τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς ὁρῶμεν, ἔδωκαν.
9 καὶ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ὂν ἐκεῖνο ἐς πάντα τοῖς ποσὶν ἅτε καὶ χερσὶν ἐχρῆτο, τόξον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέτεινε καὶ βέλη ἠφίει καὶ ἐσάλπιζεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως·
10 γράφω γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα. εἷς δ' οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ζάρμαρος, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὤν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἴτε καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ἦλθεν) ἀποθανεῖν ἐθελήσας ἐμυήθη τε τὰ τοῖν θεοῖν, τῶν μυστηρίων καίπερ οὐκ ἐν τῷ

[1] αὐτοῦ Dind., αὐτῶι M.

voted to commemorate what he had done, as though he had accomplished something by valour. And his thoughts were already on the monarchy, inasmuch as, when he was approaching Philippi, a tumult was heard coming from the field of the battle, as if from an army, and fire blazed up spontaneously from the altars which Antony had built in the fortified camp. Tiberius, accordingly, was feeling elated over these occurrences. But Augustus, for his part, returned to Samos and once more passed the winter there. In recognition of his stay he gave the islanders their freedom, and he also attended to many matters of business. For a great many embassies came to him, and the people of India, who had already made overtures, now made a treaty of friendship, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans, as also, I think, by the Greeks. They also gave him a boy who had no shoulders or arms, like our statues of Hermes. And yet, defective as he was, he could use his feet for everything, as if they were hands: with them he would stretch a bow, shoot missiles, and put a trumpet to his lips. How he did this I do not know; I merely state what is recorded. One of the Indians, Zarmarus, for some reason wished to die,—either because, being of the caste of sages, he was on this account moved by ambition, or, in accordance with the traditional custom of the Indians, because of old age, or because he wished to make a display for the benefit of Augustus and the Athenians (for Augustus had reached Athens);—he was therefore initiated into the mysteries of the two goddesses,[1] which were held

B.C. 20

[1] Demeter and Korê.

καθήκοντι καιρῷ, ὥς φασι, διὰ τὸν Αὔγουστον καὶ αὐτὸν[1] μεμυημένον γενομένων,[2] καὶ πυρὶ ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα ἐξέδωκεν.

10 Ὑπάτευε μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ[3] Γάιος Σέντιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτῷ προσαποδειχθῆναι ἔδει (ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθεῖσάν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο), στάσις τε αὖθις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίῳ[4] 2 ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδή τε[5] μὴ[6] ἠθέλησεν αὐτῇ χρήσασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον, μετὰ δύο ῥαβδούχων ἕκαστον, ἔπεμψαν. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ γενήσοιτο, οὐκέτ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν προσηνέχθη, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν αὐτῶν Κύιντον Λουκρήτιον, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικηρυχθεῖσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὕπατον ἀπέδειξε, καὶ αὐτὸς 3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπί τε τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ πραχθεῖσι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐψηφίσθη· ὧν οὐδὲν προσήκατο, πλὴν Τύχῃ τε Ἐπαναγώγῳ (οὕτω γάρ πως αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξοιτο ἔν τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι 4 καὶ Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὣς αἵ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προαπαντῆσαί οἱ προπαρεσκευάσαντο, νύκτωρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῷ τε Τιβερίῳ τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τιμὰς ἔδωκε, καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον παρὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα τὰς

[1] αὐτὸν supplied by Rk.
[2] γενομένων Rk., γενόμενον M.
[3] ἐκείνῳ Reim., ἐν ὧι M.
[4] Σεντίῳ R. Steph., γεντίωι M.
[5] τε supplied by Bs.
[6] μὴ Dind., μήτε M.

out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire. B.C. 20

The consul that year was Gaius Sentius; and when it became necessary for a colleague to be elected (for Augustus on this occasion, also, did not accept the position after it had been kept open for him), factious quarrelling again took place and murders occurred, so that the senators voted a guard for Sentius; and when he was unwilling to use it, they sent envoys to Augustus, each with two lictors. Now when the emperor learned of these things, realizing that there would be no end to the evil, he did not this time deal with the matter as he had before, but appointed one of the envoys themselves, Quintus Lucretius, to the consulship, though this man's name had been posted in the list of the proscribed; and he hastened to Rome himself. For this and the other things he had done while absent from the city many honours of all sorts were voted him, none of which he would accept, save the founding of an altar to Fortuna Redux (for this was the name they gave to her), and the provision that the day on which he arrived should be numbered among the holidays and be called Augustalia. Since even then the magistrates and the rest made preparations beforehand to go out to meet him, he entered the city by night; and on the following day he gave Tiberius the rank of an ex-praetor and allowed Drusus to stand for the various offices five years earlier than was the practice. B.C. 19

5 ἀρχὰς αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν. ἐπειδή τε μηδὲν ὡμολόγει ὅσα τε ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ στασιάζοντες καὶ ὅσα παρόντος φοβούμενοι ἔπρασσον, ἐπιμελητής τε τῶν τρόπων ἐς πέντε ἔτη[1] παρακληθεὶς δὴ ἐχειροτονήθη, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν μὲν τῶν τιμητῶν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων διὰ βίου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς δώδεκα ῥάβδοις ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀεὶ[2] ὑπατευόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου καθίζεσθαι.
6 ψηφισάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα διορθοῦν τε πάντα αὐτὸν[3] καὶ νομοθετεῖν ὅσα βούλοιτο ἠξίουν, καὶ τούς τε νόμους τοὺς γραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Αὐγούστους ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη προσηγόρευον, καὶ ἐμμενεῖν[4] σφισιν ὀμόσαι[5] ἤθελον. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς[6] καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδέξατο, τοὺς δ' ὅρκους ἀφῆκεν
7 αὐτοῖς· καὶ γὰρ εὖ ᾔδει ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης τι ψηφίσαιντο, τηρήσουσιν[7] αὐτὸ κἂν μὴ ὀμόσωσιν,[8] εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ, κἂν μυρίας πίστεις ἐπαγάγωσι, προτιμήσουσιν.[9]

11 Αὔγουστος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει, καί τις τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἐθελοντὴς ὑπὸ πενίας ἀπεῖπε τὴν ἀρχήν· Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὡς τότε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεὶς διῴκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα,
2 ταῖς Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη· ἔν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίαζον καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκακοῦντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη· οἱ γὰρ Κάνταβροι οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τε ἐν τῷ πο-

[1] ἔτη supplied by Xyl. (cf. Zon : εἰς πενταετίαν).
[2] ἀεὶ Bk., αἰεὶ M.
[3] αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτὰ M.
[4] ἐμμενεῖν Dind., ἐμμένειν M.
[5] ὀμόσαι Xyl., ὄμοσε M.
[6] ὡς Bk., ὡς ἅτε M.
[7] τηρήσουσιν Reim., τηροῦσιν M.
[8] ὀμόσωσιν Rk., ὁμολογήσωσιν M.
[9] προτιμήσουσιν Rk., προξενίσωσιν M.

And inasmuch as there was no similarity between the conduct of the people during his absence, when they quarrelled, and while he was present, when they were afraid, he accepted an election, on their invitation, to the position of supervisor of morals[1] for five years, and took the authority of censor for the same period and that of consul for life, and in consequence had the right to use the twelve rods always and everywhere and to sit in the curule chair between the two men who were at the time consuls. After voting these measures they begged him to set everything to rights and to enact whatever laws he liked; and the laws which should be proposed by him they called "leges Augustae" from that very moment, and desired to take an oath that they would abide by them. He accepted all the other measures, believing them to be necessary, but did not require the oaths from them; for he well knew that, if any measure they decreed should represent their judgment, they would observe it even without taking an oath, but if it should not, they would pay no heed to it, even if they should offer ten thousand guarantees.

B.C. 19

Augustus, then, was engaged with these matters; and one of the aediles voluntarily resigned his office by reason of poverty. As for Agrippa, as soon as he had settled whatever business was urgent in Rome, whither he had been sent from Sicily on the occasion mentioned,[2] he was then assigned to the provinces of Gaul; for the people there not only were quarrelling among themselves, but also were being harassed by the Germans. After putting a stop to those troubles, too, he went over to Spain. It seems that the Cantabri who had been captured alive in the war

[1] *Praefectus moribus.* [2] See chap. 6, 5.

λέμῳ καὶ πραθέντες τούς τε δεσπότας σφῶν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανελθόντες πολλοὺς συναπέστησαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν χωρία καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐντειχισάμενοι τοῖς τῶν
3 Ῥωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευον. ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔσχε μέν τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργον· πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν ὄντες καὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων τετρυχωμένοι, τούς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπο-
4 λεμήτους δεδιότες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μέν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθησάμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας,[1] διὰ ταχέων πειθαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους πολλὰ προσέπταισεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων, ἅτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ἔτι σωθῆναι ἁλόντες ἐχρῶντο.
5 τέλος δέ ποτε συχνοὺς μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, συχνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὅτι ἡττῶντο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ στρατόπεδον ὅλον Αὔγουστον ἐπωνομασμένον ἐκώλυσεν οὕτως ἔτι καλεῖσθαι), τούς τε ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ πολεμίους πάντας ὀλίγου διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τά τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο
6 καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐπέστειλέ τι τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου προστάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τούτοις ἐμετρίαζεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ γνώμην ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτη-

[1] ἐπελπίσας Bs., ἀπελπίσας M.

and sold, had killed their masters in every case, and returning home, had induced many to join in their rebellion; and with the aid of these they had seized some positions, walled them in, and were plotting against the Roman garrisons. It was against these people, then, that Agrippa led an expedition. But he had some trouble also with his soldiers; for not a few of them were too old and were exhausted by the continual wars; and fearing the Cantabri as men hard to subdue, they would not obey him. Nevertheless, partly by admonishing and exhorting them, and partly by inspiring them with hopes, he soon made them yield obedience. In fighting against the Cantabri, however, he met with many reverses; for they not only had gained practical experience, as a result of having been slaves to the Romans, but also despaired of having their lives granted to them again if they were taken captive. But finally Agrippa was successful; after losing many of his soldiers, and degrading many others because they kept being defeated (for example, he gave orders that the entire Augustan legion, as it had been called, should no longer bear that name), he at length destroyed nearly all of the enemy who were of military age, deprived the rest of their arms, and forced them to come down from their fortresses and live in the plains. Yet he sent no communication concerning them to the senate, and did not accept a triumph, although one was voted at the behest of Augustus, but showed moderation in these matters as was his wont; and once, when asked by the consul for his opinion about his brother,[1] he would not give it. At

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[1] Nothing of this sort is recorded elsewhere. The passage may be corrupt; it has been proposed to read πρὸ for ὑπὲρ, "ahead of the consul's brother," *i.e.* out of his turn.

7 θεὶς οὐκ ἔδωκε. τό τε ὕδωρ τὸ Παρθένιον καλούμενον τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐσαγαγὼν Αὔγουστον προσηγόρευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐκεῖνος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε σπάνεώς[1] ποτε οἴνου γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ διαβοώντων, ἱκανώτατα ἔφη τὸν Ἀγρίππαν προνενοηκέναι ὥστε μὴ δίψῃ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι.

12 Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἦν· τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν λῃστὰς συλλαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιαζούσας καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο 2 τῶν νικητηρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τήν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὅσους ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπον 3 τινὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη. ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος, ὡς τά τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοῦς ἐδεῖτο, καὶ ἐδεδίει μή, οἷα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβουλευθῇ (βραχὺ γάρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν τὸν θώρακα, ὃν ὑπὸ τῇ στολῇ πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέ-4 δριον ἐσιὼν εἶχεν, ἐπικουρήσειν οἱ ἐνόμιζε), πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ δεκέτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων[2] ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο), ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου πῃ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν 5 ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γάρ σφισιν[3] ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη· ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῷ

[1] σπάνεώς Bk., σπάνιός M.
[2] Λεντούλων Bk., λεντούλου M.
[3] σφισιν R. Steph., σφισι M.

his own expense he brought into the city the water-supply known as the Aqua Virgo, and named it the Augusta. The emperor took such great delight in this that once, when there was a great scarcity of wine and people were loudly complaining, he declared that Agrippa had in a most competent manner seen to it that they should never perish of thirst. B.C. 19

Such was the character of this man; but others both strove for triumphs and celebrated them, not only for no exploits comparable to his, but merely for arresting robbers or for restoring harmony to cities that were torn by factious strife. For Augustus, at least in the beginning, bestowed these rewards lavishly upon certain men, and those whom he honoured by public funerals were very many. Accordingly, while these men gained lustre through such distinctions, Agrippa was promoted to the supreme power, one might say, by him. For Augustus saw that the public business required strict attention, and feared that he himself might, as often happens to men of his position, fall victim to a plot. (As for the breastplate which he often wore beneath his dress, even when he entered the senate, he believed that it would be of but scanty and slight assistance to him.) He therefore first added five years to his own term as princeps, since his ten-year period was about to expire (this was in the consulship of Publius and Gnaeus Lentulus), and then he granted to Agrippa many privileges almost equal to his own, especially the tribunician power for the same length of time. For that number of years, he said at the time, would be enough for them; though not long afterward he B.C. 18

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε[1] τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὖθις γενέσθαι.

13 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἐξήτασε· πολλοί τε γὰρ καὶ ὣς ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ εἶναι (πλήθει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐνεώρα[2]), καὶ διὰ μίσους οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς κακίᾳ τινὶ ἐπιρρήτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς 2 κολακείᾳ ἐκφανεῖς ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τις ἑκὼν ὥσπερ πρότερον ἀπηλλάττετο, μήτ' αὖ μόνος ἐν αἰτίᾳ τινὶ γενέσθαι ἐβούλετο, αὐτός τε τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅπερ που[3] καὶ ὅρκῳ ἐπιστώσατο, ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκέλευσε προομόσαντας τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρκον κατὰ πέντε, πλὴν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐς πινάκια γράψαντας ἑλέσθαι. 3 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰς πεμπάδας ἐκλήρωσεν, ὥσθ' ἕνα καθ' ἑκάστην τὸν λαχόντα αὐτόν τε βουλεῦσαι καὶ ἑτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψαι. ἔδει που καὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἔν τε τοῖς αἱρουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν[4] ἑτέρων καὶ ἐν τοῖς κληρουμένοις γενέσθαι. ἐπειδή τέ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπεδήμουν, ἄλλοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων λαχόντες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἔπραξαν. 4 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκακουργήθη τινά, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ γραμματεῖα ἔτ' ἐποιήσατο οὔτε ἔτι τῷ κλήρῳ τὰς πεμπάδας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐνδέοντας προσείλετο, ὥστε ἐς ἑξακοσίους τοὺς 14 πάντας ἀποδειχθῆναι. ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ τρια-

[1] ἄλλα πέντε Rk., πέντε ἄλλα Reim., πολλὰ M.
[2] ἐνεώρα Rk., ἑώρα M. [3] που Pflugk, πω M.
[4] ὑπὸ τῶν Capps, ὑφ' M.

obtained the other five years of his imperial power in addition, so that the total number became ten again. B.C. 18

When he had done this, he purged the senatorial body. For the members seemed to him to be too numerous even now, and he saw nothing good in a large throng; moreover, he hated not only those who were notorious for some baseness, but also those who were conspicuous for their flattery. And when, as on the previous occasion,[1] no one would resign of his own free will, and Augustus, in his turn, did not wish to incur blame alone, he himself selected the thirty best men (a point which he afterwards confirmed by oath) and bade them, after first taking the same oath, choose five at a time, relatives not to be included, by writing the names on tablets. After this he made the groups of five cast lots, with the arrangement that the one man in each group who drew the lot should be a senator himself and should write down five other names according to the same plan. The original thirty, of course, were to be included among those who were available for selection by the second thirty and for the drawing of lots. And since some who were chosen were out of town, others were drawn in their place and discharged the duties that belonged to them. At first all this went on for several days in the way described; but when various abuses crept in, Augustus no longer entrusted the lists to the quaestors and no longer submitted the groups of five to the lot, but he himself thenceforth made the selection and himself chose the senators who were still required in order to make the number of men appointed six hundred in all. It had, indeed, been his

[1] Cf. lii. 42.

κοσίους αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιῆσαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπητὸν νομίζων εἶναι τοσούτους ἀξίους τοῦ συνεδρίου σφῶν εὑρεθῆναι· δυσχερανάντων δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως (τῷ γὰρ πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἐμμενούντων ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς διαγραφησομένους ἔσεσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς μὴ ἰδιωτεύσωσιν ἢ προσδοκᾶν ὅτι καὶ βουλεύσουσιν συνέβαινε) τοὺς 2 ἑξακοσίους κατελέξατο. καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐπειδή τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ τότε ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ Λικίνιός τέ τις Ῥήγουλος, ἀγανακτήσας ὅτι τοῦ τε υἱέος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὧν[1] κρείσσων εἶναι ἠξίου, διειλεγμένων ἀπαλήλιπτο, τήν τε ἐσθῆτα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ 3 βουλευτηρίῳ κατερρήξατο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνώσας τάς τε στρατείας κατηριθμήσατο καὶ τὰς οὐλὰς προσεπέδειξέ σφισι, καὶ Ἀρτικυλέιος[2] Παῖτος[3] ἐν μὲν τοῖς βουλεύσουσιν ὢν τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρὶ ἐκπεπτωκότι παραχωρῆσαι τῆς βουλείας ἀξιῶν ἱκέτευεν, ἐξετασμὸν αὖθίς σφων ἐποιήσατο, καί 4 τινας ἀπαλλάξας ἄλλους ἀντικατέλεξεν. ἐπειδή τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὡς διεγεγράφατο, καί τινες αὐτὸν δι' αἰτίας,[4] οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ὡς καὶ ἀδίκως ἀπεληλαμένοι εἶχον, τότε τε[5] αὐτοῖς καὶ συνθεάσασθαι καὶ συνεστιάσασθαι τοῖς βουλεύουσι, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρωμένοις, συνεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐπέ-5 τρεψε. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπανῆλθον

[1] ὧν supplied by R. Steph.
[2] Ἀρτικυλέιος Cary, Ἀρτικυλήιος M.
[3] Παῖτος Bk., πέτος M.
[4] αὐτὸν δι' αἰτίας Bk., αὐτῶν αἰτίας M.
[5] τε Bk., γε M.

plan to limit the senators to three hundred, as in the early times, and he thought he ought to be well content if that number of men were found who were worthy of the senate. But the number he actually enrolled was six hundred, since all alike were displeased with the other arrangement; for it turned out that those whose names would be stricken off the roll would be much more numerous than those who kept their places, so that the present senators were more afraid of being reduced to the ranks than hopeful of being in the new senate. Indeed, he did not stop even when this was done, but subsequently took other measures. It seems that certain unsuitable persons were even then found on the lists; and one Licinius Regulus, indignant because his name had been erased, whereas his son and several others to whom he thought himself superior had been selected by the lot, rent his clothing in the very senate, laid bare his body, enumerated his campaigns, and showed them his scars; and Articuleius Paetus, one of those who were to remain senators, earnestly begged that he might retire from his seat in the senate in favour of his father, who had been rejected. Consequently Augustus purged the senate again, removing some and choosing others in their places. And since, even so, the names of many had been stricken out, and some of them, as usually happens in such a case, found fault with him on the ground that they had been unjustly expelled, he at that time accorded them the right to attend spectacles and celebrate festivals along with the senators, wearing the same garb as they, and for the future he allowed them to stand for the various offices. The majority of them came back in the course of time into the senate;

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χρόνῳ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, μήτε τῆς γερουσίας μήτε τοῦ δήμου νομιζόμενοι, κατελείφθησαν.

15 Τούτων οὖν οὕτω γενομένων συχνοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ 2 ψευδῶς, αἰτίαν ἔσχον. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῶν οὖσιν εἰδέναι· πολλὰ γὰρ ὧν ἂν ὁ κρατῶν πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιβεβουλευμένος, ἤτοι δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξῃ, ὑποπτεύεται κατ' ἐπήρειαν, κἂν ὅτι μά- 3 λιστα δικαιότατα συμβῇ, γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ δεδημοσιευμένα, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ φανερῶν, μήτε πολυπραγμονῶν μήθ' ὑπολέγων, μήτ' εἰ δικαίως μήτ' εἰ ἀδίκως τι γέγονε, μήτ' εἰ 4 ψευδῶς μήτε εἰ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται. καὶ τοῦτο μέν μοι καὶ κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ τότε παρόντι ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλους μέν τινας ἐδικαίωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Λέπιδον ἐμίσει μὲν διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπεφώρατο ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεκόλαστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ 5 τινὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ[1] προεπηλάκιζεν. ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατιέναι ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνόδους ἀεὶ ἐσῆγεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ ὕβριν πρός τε τὴν

[1] ἄλλῳ R. Steph., ἄλλο M.

but some few were left in an intermediate position, B.C. 18 being regarded as belonging neither to the senate nor to the people.

After these events, many immediately and many later were accused, whether truly or falsely, of plotting against both the emperor and Agrippa. It is not possible, of course, for those on the outside to have certain knowledge of such matters; for whatever measures a ruler takes, either personally or through the senate, for the punishment of men for alleged plots against himself, are generally looked upon with suspicion as having been done out of spite, no matter how just such measures may be. For this reason it is my purpose to report in all such cases simply the recorded version of the affair, without busying myself with anything beyond the published account, except in perfectly patent cases, or giving a hint as to the justice or injustice of the act or as to the truth or falsity of the report. Let this explanation apply also to everything that I shall write hereafter. As for the time of which we are speaking, Augustus executed a few men; in the case of Lepidus, however, although he hated the man, among other reasons, because his son had been detected in a plot against him and had been punished, yet he did not wish to put him to death, but kept subjecting him to insult from time to time in various ways. Thus he would order him to come back to the city from his estate in the country,[1] whether he wished to do so or not, and would always take him to the meetings of the senate, in order that he might be subjected to the utmost to jeering and

[1] At Circeii.

τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀξιώσεως μεταβολὴν ὀφλισκάνῃ· καὶ οὔτε ἐς ἄλλο τι ὡς καὶ ἀξίῳ οἱ λόγου ἐχρῆτο, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὑστάτῳ τῶν
6 ὑπατευκότων ἐπῆγε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ καθηκούσῃ τάξει ἐπεψήφιζε, τῶν δ' ὑπατευκότων πρῶτόν τέ τινα καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε ἕτερον καὶ τέταρτον, τούς τε λοιποὺς ὁμοίως, ὥς που καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι ἐποίουν. οὕτω
7 μὲν δὴ τὸν Λέπιδον μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ ἐπειδή γε Ἀντίστιος Λαβεὼν ἐς τοὺς βουλεύσοντας[1] αὐτόν, ὅτε ἡ διαγνώμη[2] ἐκείνη ἐγίγνετο, ἐσεγράψατο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιωρκηκέναι τε αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ τιμωρήσεσθαι ἠπείλησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ "καὶ τί δεινὸν πεποίηκα κατασχὼν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἄνδρα ὃν σὺ ἀρχιέρεων ἔτι καὶ νῦν περιορᾷς
8 ὄντα;" οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν ὀργὴν ἐποιήσατο· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ταύτης ἀξιούμενος οὐκ ἐδικαίωσε ζῶντος τοῦ Λεπίδου λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Ἀντίστιος μὲν οὖν τοῦτό τε οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε, καί ποτε λόγων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γιγνομένων ὡς χρεὼν εἴη τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐκ διαδοχῆς σφας φρουρεῖν, ἔφη, μήτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶν μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι ὑπομένων, ὅτι "ῥέγκω καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοιτῆσαι."

16 Ὁ δ' οὖν Αὔγουστος ἄλλα τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐς

[1] βουλεύσοντας R. Steph., βουλεύσαντας M.
[2] ὅτε ἡ διαγνώμη Rk., ὅτι ἰδίαι γνώμηι M.

insults, so that he might realize his loss of power and dignity. In general he did not treat him as worthy of any consideration on his part, and on the occasions referred to called on him for his vote the last of all the ex-consuls. For while he was wont to put the vote to the other senators in the regular order, in the case of the ex-consuls he used to call on one first, another second, and others third and fourth, and so on, just as he pleased; and the consuls also did the same. Thus it was that he used to treat Lepidus. And when Antistius Labeo wrote down the name of Lepidus among those who might be senators, at the time when the process of selection which we have described was being followed, the emperor first declared that he had perjured himself,[1] and he threatened to punish him. Thereupon Labeo replied: "Why, what harm have I done by keeping in the senate one whom you even now permit to be high priest?" At this Augustus desisted from his anger; for though he had often been asked, both privately and publicly, to take this priesthood, he did not feel that it was right to do so while Lepidus lived.[2] This reply of Antistius was regarded as a happy one, as was also another remark of his: when it was said in the senate, on one occasion, that the senators ought to take turns in guarding Augustus, Antistius, not daring to speak in opposition nor yet willing to assent, remarked, "As for me, I snore, and so cannot sleep at the door of his chamber."

B.C. 18

Among the laws that Augustus enacted was one which provided that those who had bribed anyone in order to gain office should be debarred from office for

[1] Presumably because of the oath the thirty men had taken that they would select the best men.

[2] Cf. xlix. 15, 3, and chap. 27, 2 *inf.*

πέντε ἔτη αὐτῶν εἶρξε.[1] τοῖς τε ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἆθλα 2 ἔθηκεν. ἐπειδή τε πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἄγεσθαι, ἔννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας.

3 Κἀν τούτῳ καταβοήσεως[2] ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ περί τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δή τινα τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως δι' αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγὰς ποιεῖσθαι, γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπανορθῶσαι χλευασμῷ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναιξὶν ἐχρῆτο, 4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαιότατα διώρισται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ὁμοίως παραδοθῆναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεὶς εἶπεν ὅτι "αὐτοὶ ὀφείλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὅπερ που 5 καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ." ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῷ, βουλόμενοι τὰς παραινέσεις ἃς τῇ Λιουίᾳ παραινεῖν ἔφη μαθεῖν. καὶ ὃς ἄκων μέν, εἶπε δ' οὖν τινα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου τῶν τε ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μηδ' ὁτιοῦν φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστοῦτο. 6 καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι τοιόνδε τιμητεύων ἐπεποιήκει· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ προσήγαγέ τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκον γυναῖκα ἐκ μοιχείας γεγαμηκότα, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα κατη-

[1] εἶρξε R. Steph., εἷρξε M.
[2] καταβοήσεως R. Steph., κατεβόησεν M.

five years. He laid heavier assessments upon the unmarried men and upon the women without husbands, and on the other hand offered prizes for marriage and the begetting of children. And since among the nobility there were far more males than females, he allowed all who wished, except the senators, to marry freedwomen, and ordered that their offspring should be held legitimate. B.C. 18

Meanwhile a clamor arose in the senate over the disorderly conduct of the women and of the young men, this being alleged as a reason for their reluctance to enter into the marriage relation; and when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, with ironical allusions to his own intimacy with many women, he at first replied that the most necessary restrictions had been laid down and that anything further could not possibly be regulated by decree in similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a corner, he said: "You yourselves ought to admonish and command your wives as you wish; that is what I do." When they heard that, they plied him with questions all the more, wishing to learn what the admonitions were which he professed to give Livia. He accordingly, though with reluctance, made a few remarks about women's dress and their other adornment, about their going out and their modest behaviour, not in the least concerned that his actions did not lend credence to his words. Another instance of such inconsistency had occurred while he was censor. Some one brought before him a young man who had taken as his wife a married woman with whom he had previously committed adultery, and made ever so many accusations against the

γόρησεν αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα μήτ' ἐπιτιμῆσαί τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις[1] ποτὲ ὀψὲ ἀνενεγκὼν "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ δεινὰ αἱ στάσεις ἤνεγκαν, ὥστε ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμνημονῶμεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοῶμεν ὅπως μηδὲν τοιοῦτο γίγνηται." 7 ὡς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν μεθ' ἣν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν διελθόντων γαμήσει[2] τις, τοῦτ' ἔστι δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τόν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσοντα· δώδεκα γὰρ[3] ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γάμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται.

17 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ὡς ἕκαστα διενομοθέτει, καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει προβάλλωνται οἱ[4] ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀεὶ ὄντες ἕνα ἕκαστος[5] ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσαρες οἱ λαχόντες 2 σιτοδοτῶσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τόν τε πολίαρχον τὸν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς καθιστάμενον ἕνα ἀεὶ αἱρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐξίτηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἱερέας αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐκγράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἕτερος

[1] μόλις Pflugk, μάλιστα M.
[2] γαμήσει Zon., γαμήσῃ M.
[3] γὰρ supplied by R. Steph.
[4] οἱ Bk , καὶ οἱ M.
[5] ἕκαστος Reim., ἕκαστον M.

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[1] Cf. note on liii. 13, 2.
[2] Apparently in a lost portion of his work.

man, and Augustus was at a loss what to do, not daring to overlook the affair nor yet to administer any rebuke. At length, though with difficulty, he recovered himself and said: "Our factious quarrels have borne many terrible fruits; let us, then, forget them and give our attention to the future, that nothing of the sort may occur again." Inasmuch, too, as certain men were betrothing themselves to infant girls and thus enjoying the privileges granted to married men,[1] but without rendering the service expected of them, he ordered that no betrothal should be valid if the man did not marry within two years of such betrothal,—that is, that the girl must in every case be at least ten years old at her betrothal if the man was to derive any advantages from it, since, as I have stated,[2] girls are held to have reached the marriageable age on the completion of twelve full years. B.C. 18

Besides these several enactments, Augustus further provided that, for the distribution of grain, one candidate, who must have served as praetor three years previously, should be nominated each year by each of the officials then serving, and that, from these nominees, four men should be chosen by lot to serve in succession as distributors of grain.[3] And he commanded that the office of prefect of the city, who was chosen for the Feriae,[4] should always be filled by the election of one man, and that the Sibylline verses, which had become indistinct through lapse of time, should be copied off by the priests with their own hands, in order that no one

[3] Suetonius (*Aug.* 37) names among the new offices established by Augustus the "*curam . . . frumenti populo dividundi.*"

[4] See note on chap. 6; and cf. xli. 14, 4, and xlix. 16, 2.

3 αὐτὰ ἀναλέξηται. τάς τε ἀρχὰς ἅπασι τοῖς δέκα μυριάδων οὐσίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν νόμων δυναμένοις ἐπαγγέλλειν ἐπέτρεψε. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βουλευτικὸν τίμημα τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔταξεν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας αὐτὸ προήγαγε. καί τισι τῶν εὖ βιούντων ἐλάττω, τότε μὲν τῶν δέκα, αὖθις δὲ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, 4 κεκτημένοις[1] ἐχαρίσατο ὅσον ἐνέδει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλάσιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφῆκεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομοθετημάτων ἤχθοντό τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπό τε τούτου, καὶ ὅτι Πυλάδην τινὰ ὀρχηστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένον κατήγαγεν, οὐκέτ' ἐκείνων ἐμέμνηντο. 5 ὅθενπερ πάνυ σοφῶς ὁ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὴ Βαθύλλῳ ὁμοτέχνῳ τέ οἱ ὄντι καὶ τῷ Μαικήνᾳ προσήκοντι διεστασίαζεν, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "συμφέρει σοι, Καῖσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι."

18 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Γαΐου[2] τε Φουρνίου καὶ Γαΐου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων υἱὸν αὖθις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀνείλετο τὸν Λούκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαΐου ἐποιήσατο, μὴ ἀναμείνας σφᾶς ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν διαδόχους τῆς 2 ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας, ἵν' ἧττον ἐπιβουλεύηται. τήν τε τῆς Τιμῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀρετῆς πανήγυριν ἐς τὰς νῦν ἡμέρας μετέστησε, καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐπινίκια πέμπουσιν ἔργον ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐς τὴν τῶν πράξεων

[1] κεκτημένοις Bk., κεκτημένων M.
[2] Γαΐου Bk., τοῦ γαΐου M.

else might read them. He permitted all to stand for office who possessed property worth four hundred thousand sesterces and were eligible by the laws to hold office. This was the senatorial rating which he at first established; but later he raised it to one million sesterces. Upon some of those who lived upright lives but possessed less than the four hundred thousand sesterces in the first instance, or the million in the second, he bestowed the amount lacking. And because of this he allowed the praetors who so desired to spend on the public festivals three times the amount granted them from the treasury. Thus, even if some were vexed at the strictness of his other regulations, yet by reason of this action and also because he restored one Pylades, a dancer, who had been exiled on account of sedition, they remembered them no longer. Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very cleverly, when the emperor rebuked him for having quarrelled with Bathyllus, a fellow-artist and a favourite of Maecenas[1]: "It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people should devote their spare time to us."

B.C. 18

These were the occurrences of that year. In the consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus, Agrippa again acknowledged the birth of a son, who was named Lucius; and Augustus immediately adopted him together with his brother Gaius, not waiting for them to become men, but appointing them then and there successors to his office, in order that fewer plots might be formed against him. He transferred the festival of Honor and Virtus to the days which are at present theirs, commanded those who celebrated triumphs to erect out of their

B.C. 17

[1] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 54.

μνήμην ποιεῖν προσέταξε, τά τε σαικουλάρια τὰ πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθὶ[1] συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν
3 ἐκτίνειν, ἐκέλευσε. τοῖς δὲ δικάζειν ἀεὶ λαγχάνουσιν ἀπεῖπεν ἐς μηδενὸς οἴκαδε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐσιέναι. ἐπειδή τε ἀσπουδεὶ οἱ[2] βουλευταὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συνεφοίτων, ἐπηύξησε τὰς ζημίας τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ εὐλόγου τινὸς αἰτίας ὑστερίζουσι.

19 Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Λουκίου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Πουπλίου Σκιπίωνος ὑπατευόντων, ὥρμησε, πρόφασιν τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς κατ' ἐκεῖνο
2 κινηθέντας λαβών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπαχθὴς πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρονίου διατριβῆς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ συχνοὺς μὲν ἔξω τι τῶν τεταγμένων πράττοντας δικαιῶν ἐλύπει, συχνῶν δὲ καὶ φειδόμενος τὰ νενομοθετημένα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἠναγκάζετο, ἐκδημῆσαι τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα
3 ἔγνω. καί τινες καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ Μαικήνου γυναῖκα ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν, ἵν' ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἄνευ θροῦ τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδημίᾳ αὐτῇ συνῇ· οὕτω γὰρ οὖν πάνυ αὐτῆς ἤρα ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαί ποτε αὐτὴν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους
4 πρὸς τὴν Λιουίαν ποιῆσαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καινῆς οἰκοδομήσας. εἶπον δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἓξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησεν, ὅσαπερ τὰ πάντα ἔτη[3] διεβίω, κἀκ τούτου λόγον τισὶ παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως
5 πράξας. ἐκεῖνόν τε οὖν τότε ἐθείωσε, καὶ μονο-

[1] ἀμισθὶ St., ἀμισθεὶ M. [2] οἱ supplied by Rk.
[3] ἔτη Dind., ἔτη τις VM.

spoils some monument to commemorate their deeds, B.C. 17 and held the fifth celebration of the Ludi Saeculares. He ordered the orators to give their services as advocates without pay, on pain of a fine of four times the amount they received; and he forbade those who were drawn as jurymen from time to time to enter any person's house during their year of service. And since the members of the senate showed a lack of interest in attending its sessions, he increased the fines for those who were late without a good excuse.

Next he set out for Gaul, during the consulship B.C. 16 of Lucius Domitius and Publius Scipio, making the wars that had arisen in that region his excuse. For since he had become disliked by many as a result of his long stay in the capital, and now was offending many who committed some act contrary to his decrees by the punishments he was inflicting, and at the same time, by sparing many others, was being compelled to transgress his own enactments, he decided to leave the country, somewhat after the manner of Solon. Some even suspected that he had gone away on account of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, and intended, inasmuch as there was much talk about them in Rome, to live with her abroad free from all gossip. So great, indeed, was his passion for her that he once made her enter a contest of beauty against Livia. Before setting out he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which he had rebuilt. I mention this for the reason that he adorned it with seventy-six columns, which was the exact number of the years he lived, and thus caused some to declare that he had chosen this number deliberately and not by mere chance. So he dedicated this temple at that time, and also exhibited

μαχίας ἀγῶνας διά τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, συγχωρηθὲν δή σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, 6 ἔθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὖθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μαικήνᾳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαιρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καίτοι στρατηγοῦντα παραλαβὼν ἐξώρμησεν. ἐστρατήγησε γὰρ καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἔχων· καὶ τήν γε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Δροῦσος ἐκ δόγματος διήγαγεν. 7 ἐξελθόντων δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τἆλλα τὰ προγενόμενα (λύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσὼν ἀνθρώπους ἔφθειρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ[1] πόρρω τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα[2] συνεστράφησαν, λαμπάς τέ τις ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἠνέχθη) εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ 8 Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ Ἀγρίππου (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἱέρωτο) διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος.

20 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἐταράχθη. καὶ γὰρ Καμμούνιοι καὶ Οὐέννιοι, Ἀλπικὰ γένη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ νικηθέντες ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν· 2 καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι τήν τε Ἰστρίαν μετὰ Νωρίκων

[1] οὐ supplied by Leuncl. [2] ἐκφανέστατα M, ἐμφανέστατα V.

gladiatorial combats, Tiberius and Drusus representing him in the matter after the senate had granted them permission. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the city together with the rest of Italy (for he had sent Agrippa again to Syria and no longer looked with equal favour upon Maecenas because of the latter's wife), and taking Tiberius, though praetor at the time, along with him, he set out on his journey. Tiberius, it appears, had become praetor in spite of his already holding the rank of a praetor; and Drusus now performed all the duties of his office in pursuance of a decree. The night following their departure the temple of Iuventus[1] was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred: a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long. Because of all these signs prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. Meanwhile they held the quadrennial celebration of his sovereignty, Agrippa, represented by his fellow-priests, bearing the expense; for he had been consecrated as one of the quindecimviri, upon whom the management of the festival devolved in regular succession.

B.C. 16

There were many other disturbances, too, during that period. The Camunni and Vennii,[2] Alpine tribes, took up arms against the Romans, but were conquered and subdued by Publius Silius. The Pannonians in company with the Norici overran

[1] *Aedes Iuventutis.*

[2] Other forms of this name are Vennones, Vennontes, and Venostes.

κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτοί τε πρός τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ κακωθέντες αὖθις ὡμολόγησαν, καὶ τοῖς Νωρίκοις αἴτιοι τῆς αὐτῆς 3 *δουλείας ἐγένοντο. τά τε ἐν τῇ Δελματίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ νεοχμώσαντα δι' ὀλίγου κατέστη, καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπό τε τῶν Δενθελητῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἔν τε τῇ Θρᾴκῃ πρότερον μὲν Μᾶρκος Λόλλιος Ῥυμητάλκῃ*[1] *θείῳ τε τῶν τοῦ Κότυος παίδων καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὄντι βοηθῶν Βησσοὺς κατεστρέψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ Λούκιος Γάιος Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας κρατήσας ὑπὲρ* 4 *τὸν Ἴστρον ἀπεώσατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε συμβάντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὅσπερ που καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε, πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγαμβροί τε γὰρ καὶ Οὐσιπέται καὶ Τέγκτηροι*[2] *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ τινὰς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν,* 5 *ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβάντες τήν τε Γερμανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλεηλάτησαν, τό τε ἱππικὸν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπελθόν σφισιν ἐνήδρευσαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τῷ τε Λολλίῳ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ* 6 *ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔργον τι πολέμου ἔσχεν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τόν τε Λόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκεῖνον στρατεύοντα πυθόμενοι ἔς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ὁμήρους δόντες.*

21 Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὅπλων οὐδὲν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐδεήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τοῦτόν

[1] Ῥυμητάλκῃ R. Steph., ῥωμητάλκηι VM (but Ῥυμητάλκης elsewhere). [2] Τέγκτηροι R. Steph., τέγκρητοι VM.

Istria; but the former, upon being discomfited by Silius and his lieutenants, both came to terms again themselves and caused the Norici to be subjected to the same slavery. The uprisings in Dalmatia and in Spain were quelled in a short time. Macedonia was ravaged by the Dentheleti and the Scordisci. In Thrace somewhat earlier Marcus Lollius, while aiding Rhoemetalces, the uncle and guardian of the sons of Cotys, had subjugated the Bessi. Later Lucius Gallus conquered the Sarmatians for the same reason and drove them back across the Ister. The greatest, however, of the wars which at that time fell to the lot of the Romans, and the one presumably which drew Augustus away from the city, was that against the Germans. It seems that the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri had first seized in their own territory some of the Romans and had crucified them, after which they had crossed the Rhine and plundered Germania and Gaul. When the Roman cavalry approached, they surprised them from ambush; then, pursuing them as they fled, they fell in unexpectedly with Lollius, the governor of the province, and conquered him also. On learning of all this, Augustus hastened against them, but found no warfare to carry on; for the barbarians, learning that Lollius was making preparations and that the emperor was also taking the field, retired into their own territory and made peace, giving hostages.

B.C. 16

For this reason Augustus had no need of arms, but in arranging other matters he consumed the

τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατανάλωσε καὶ τὸν ὕστερον, ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Λίβων καὶ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων
2 ὑπάτευσαν. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Λικινίου[1] τινὸς ἐπεπόνηντο.[2] καί μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ' ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ κῆτός σφισι προσημῆναι· πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν εἴκοσι μῆκος δὲ τριπλάσιον ἔχον, καὶ γυναικὶ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐοικός, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἑαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξώκει-
3 λεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Λικίνιος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἦν, ἁλοὺς δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δουλεύσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἠλευθερώθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.
4 οὗτος οὖν πλεονεξίᾳ μὲν βαρβαρικῇ ἀξιώσει δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῇ χρώμενος, πᾶν μὲν τὸ κρεῖττόν ποτε αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθῄρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰσχυρὸν ἠφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεταγμένης οἱ[3] διακονίας ἐξεπόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἑαυτῷ τοῖς τε οἰκείοις παρεξ-
5 έλεγε. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώρησεν ὥστε, ἐπειδή τινες ἐσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοὺς[4] ποιῆσαι, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλούμενον δέκατον ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑστάτους,[5] ὧν τὸν μὲν ἑνδέκατον τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ὠνόμαζε, νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν.
6 διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν· οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινὰ

[1] Λικινίου Xiph., λικιννίου VM (and similarly just below).
[2] ἐπεπόνηντο Rk., ἐπεποίηντο VM.
[3] οἱ M cod. Peir., αὐτῷ V.
[4] αὐτοὺς Reim., αὐτὰ V, αὐτὰς M cod. Peir., τοὺς μῆνας Xiph. [5] ὑστάτους Dind., αὐγουστους VM cod. Peir.

whole of this year, as well as the next, in which Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso were consuls. For not only had the Gauls suffered much at the hands of the Germans, but much also at the hands of a certain Licinus.[1] And of this, I think, the sea-monster had given them full warning beforehand; twenty feet broad and three times as long, and resembling a woman except for its head, it had come in from the ocean and become stranded on the shore. Now Licinus was originally a Gaul, but after being captured by the Romans and becoming a slave of Caesar's, he had been set free by him, and by Augustus had been made procurator of Gaul. This man, then, with his combination of barbarian avarice and Roman dignity, tried to overthrow every one who was ever counted superior to him and to destroy every one who was strong for the time being. He not only supplied himself with plenty of funds for the requirements of the office to which he had been assigned, but also incidentally collected plenty for himself and for his friends. His knavery went so far that in some cases where the people paid their tribute by the month he made the months fourteen in number, declaring that the month called December was really the tenth, and for that reason they must reckon two more (which he called the eleventh and the twelfth[2] respectively) as the last, and contribute the money that was due for these months. It was these quibbles that brought him into danger; for the Gauls secured the ear of Augustus and protested indignantly, so that the

B.C. 15

[1] Licinus appears to be the proper spelling of the name, although we find Licinius even in some Roman writers.

[2] Bekker plausibly suggested Ἐνδεκέμβριον and Δωδεκέμβριον, *i.e.* Undecember and Duodecember.

ἐποίησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον τὰ μὲν συνάχθεσθαί[1] σφισι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι· ἀγνοεῖν τέ τινα ἔλεγε, καὶ προσεποιεῖτο ἕτερα μὴ πιστεύειν, καὶ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ συνέκρυπτεν, αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι τοιούτῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐκέχρητο· 7 ἄλλο δὲ τοιόνδε τι τεχνασάμενος καὶ πάνυ πάντων αὐτῶν κατεγέλασεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ χαλεπῶς οἱ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἔχοντα ᾔσθετο καὶ κολασθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου θησαυροὺς πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 8 τἆλλα σωρηδὸν συννενημένα[2] αὐτῷ δείξας, "ἐξεπίτηδες," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἤθροισα, ἵνα μὴ τοσούτων χρημάτων ἐγκρατεῖς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὄντες ἀποστῶσιν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐτήρησά σοι πάντα αὐτὰ καὶ δίδωμι."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχὺν ἐκνενευρικώς, ἐσώθη, 22 Δροῦσος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Τιβέριος τάδε ἔπραξαν. Ῥαιτοὶ οἰκοῦντες μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νωρίκου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς Ἄλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῖς Τριδεντίναις, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας[3] ἁρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, τούς τε ῥᾴδῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς 2 σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πως τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν, πᾶν δὲ δὴ τὸ ἄρρεν τῶν ἁλισκομένων, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ φαινόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς

[1] συνάχθεσθαί Xiph., ἄχθεσθαί VM.

[2] συννενημένα Sylburg, συνενεμημένα V, συννενεμημένα M cod. Peir.

[3] Ἰταλίας Bk., ἰταλίδος VM.

emperor in some matters shared their vexation and in others tried to excuse Licinus. He claimed to be unaware of some of his extortions and affected not to believe others, while some matters he actually concealed, feeling ashamed to have employed such a procurator. Licinus, however, devised another scheme as follows, and laughed them all to scorn. When he perceived that Augustus was displeased with him and that he was likely to be punished, he brought the emperor into his house, and showing him many treasures of silver and gold and many other valuables piled up in heaps, he said: "I have gathered all this purposely, master, for you and for the rest of the Romans, lest the natives, by having control of so much money, should revolt. At any rate, I have kept it all for you and now give it to you." B.C. 15

Thus Licinus was saved, by pretending that he had sapped the strength of the barbarians in order to serve Augustus. Drusus and Tiberius in the meantime were engaged in the following exploits. The Rhaetians, who dwell between Noricum and Gaul, near the Tridentine Alps[1] which adjoin Italy, were overrunning a large part of the neighbouring territory of Gaul and carrying off plunder even from Italy; and they were harassing such of the Romans or their allies as travelled through their country. Now these acts of theirs seemed to be about what was to be expected of nations which had not accepted terms of peace; but they went further and destroyed all the males among their captives, not only those who had already come into the world, but also those who were still in the women's wombs, the sex of

[1] The Alps around Tridentum (Trent).

γαστράσιν ἔτι τῶν γυναικῶν ὂν μαντείαις τισὶν
3 ἀνευρίσκοντες, ἔφθειρον. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Δροῦσον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὃς τοὺς προαπαντήσαντάς οἱ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ Τριδεντῖνα ὄρη διὰ ταχέων ἐτρέψατο, ὥστε καὶ τιμὰς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἰταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῇ δὲ δὴ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ὣς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν
4 Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν. ἐσβαλόντες [1] οὖν ἐς τὴν χώραν πολλαχόθεν ἅμα ἀμφότεροι, αὐτοί τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ὅ γε Τιβέριος καὶ διὰ τῆς λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθείς, ἀπό τε τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑκάστοις σφίσι συμμιγνύντες, τούς τε ἀεὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικνουμένους οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἅτε διεσπασμέναις ταῖς δυνάμεσι χρωμένους, κατειργάσαντο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀσθενεστέρους τε ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀθυμοτέρους γενομένους
5 εἷλον. ἐπειδή τε ἐπολυάνδρουν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι νεωτεριεῖν, τό τε κράτιστον καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶν ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσούτους ὅσοι τὴν μὲν χώραν οἰκεῖν ἱκανοὶ νεοχμῶσαι δέ τι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν.

23 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει Οὐήδιος Πωλίων ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον παρασχόμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων [2] ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐξητάζετο καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο), ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ πλούτῳ τῇ τε ὠμότητι ὀνομαστότατος γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἱστορίας
2 λόγον ἐσελθεῖν. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἔπραττε, δι' ὄχλου ἂν λεγόμενα γένοιτο, μυραίνας

[1] ἐσβαλόντες M, ἐσβάλλοντες V.
[2] ἀπελευθέρων VM cod. Peir., ἀπελευθέρου Xiph.

whom they discovered by some means of divination. B.C. 15
For these reasons, then, Augustus first sent against them Drusus, who speedily routed a detachment of them which came to meet him near the Tridentine mountains, and in consequence received the rank of praetor. Later, when the Rhaetians had been repulsed from Italy, but were still harassing Gaul, Augustus sent out Tiberius also. Both leaders then invaded Rhaetia at many points at the same time, either in person or through their lieutenants, and Tiberius even crossed the lake[1] with ships. In this way, by encountering them separately, they terrified them and not only easily overwhelmed those with whom they came into close quarters at any time, inasmuch as the barbarians had their forces scattered, but also captured the remainder, who in consequence had become weaker and less spirited. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed likely to revolt, they deported most of the strongest men of military age, leaving behind only enough to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution.

This same year Vedius Pollio died, a man who in general had done nothing deserving of remembrance, as he was sprung from freedmen, belonged to the knights, and had performed no brilliant deeds; but he had become very famous for his wealth and for his cruelty, so that he has even gained a place in history. Most of the things he did it would be wearisome to relate, but I may mention that he kept in reservoirs

[1] The Lacus Venetus (Lago di Garda).

δὲ δεδιδαγμένας ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐν δεξαμεναῖς τρέφων τοὺς δούλους αὐταῖς οὓς ἐθανάτου παρέβαλλε.[1] καί ποτε τὸν Αὔγουστον ἑστιῶν, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ ὁ οἰνοχόος κύλικα κρυσταλλίνην κατέαξεν, ἐς τὰς μυραίνας αὐτόν, μηδὲ τὸν δαιτυμόνα αἰδεσθείς, ἐμβληθῆναι προσέταξεν. 3 ὁ οὖν Αὔγουστος, προσπεσόντος οἱ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἱκετεύσαντος αὐτόν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πείθειν τὸν Πωλίωνα ἐπειρᾶτο μηδὲν τοιοῦτον δρᾶσαι, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῷ, "φέρε," ἔφη, "πάντα τἆλλα ἐκπώματα, ὅσα[2] ποτὲ τοιουτότροπα ἢ καὶ ἕτερά τινα 4 ἔντιμα κέκτησαι, ἵνα αὐτοῖς χρήσωμαι." καὶ αὐτὰ κομισθέντα συντριβῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἄλλως μὲν ἤσχαλλεν, οὔτε δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἔτι ποτηρίου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὀργὴν ἔχων, οὔτ' αὖ τὸν διάκονον ὧν γε καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπεποιήκει τιμωρήσασθαι 5 δυνάμενος, ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἄκων ἤγαγε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις ὁ Πωλίων ὢν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοῦ τε κλήρου συχνὸν μέρος καὶ τὸν[3] Παυσίλυπον, τὸ χωρίον τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τε Νέας πόλεως καὶ τῶν Πουτεόλων ὄν, καταλιπών, τῷ τε δήμῳ περικαλλές ἔργον 6 οἰκοδομηθῆναι κελεύσας. ὁ οὖν Αὔγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐς ἔδαφος προφάσει τῆς ἐκείνου κατασκευῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν μνημόσυνον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχῃ, καταβαλὼν περίστῳον ᾠκοδομήσατο, καὶ οὐ

[1] παρέβαλλε cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., παρέβαλε VM.
[2] ὅσα—τῷ κοινῷ (chap. 24, 7) omitted by V, whose archetype L had lost one folio at this point. [3] τὸν M Xiph., τὸ Xyl.

huge lampreys that had been trained to eat men, B.C. 15 and he was accustomed to throw to them such of his slaves as he desired to put to death. Once, when he was entertaining Augustus, his cup-bearer broke a crystal goblet, and without regard for his guest, Pollio ordered the fellow to be thrown to the lampreys. Hereupon the slave fell on his knees before Augustus and supplicated him, and Augustus at first tried to persuade Pollio not to commit so monstrous a deed. Then, when Pollio paid no heed to him, the emperor said, "Bring all the rest of the drinking vessels which are of like sort or any others of value that you possess, in order that I may use them," and when they were brought, he ordered them to be broken. When Pollio saw this, he was vexed, of course; but since he was no longer angry over the one goblet, considering the great number of the others that were ruined, and, on the other hand, could not punish his servant for what Augustus also had done, he held his peace, though much against his will. This is the sort of person Pollio was, who died at this time. Among his many bequests to many persons he left to Augustus a good share of his estate together with Pausilypon,[1] the place between Neapolis and Puteoli, with instructions that some public work of great beauty should be erected there. Augustus razed Pollio's house to the ground, on the pretext of preparing for the erection of the other structure, but really with the purpose that Pollio should have no monument in the city;

[1] The modern Posilipo, between Naples and Pozzuoli. The Greek name Pausilypon means "grief-assuaging," thus corresponding to such modern names as Sans Souci, Heartsease, etc.

τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς Λιουίας ἐπέγραψεν.

7 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ συχνὰς ἀπῴκισε, καὶ Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε, Παφίοις τε σεισμῷ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὔγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ 8 δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ ἔγραψα οὐχ ὅτι οὐ[1] καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι πολλαῖς καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐφ' ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐπεκούρησαν, ὧν εἴ τις ἁπάντων μνημονεύοι, ἀπέραντον ἂν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ γερουσία ἐν μέρει τιμῆς ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι καταλόγους ὀνομάτων οὓς ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ὡς πλήθει ποιοῦνται.

24 Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει Μᾶρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὑπάτευσαν, οἱ δ' ἀγορανόμοι οἱ κουρούλιοι, ἀπειπόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι ἐξαισίων σφίσι τῶν ὀρνίθων γενομένων ᾕρηντο,[2] αὖθις αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνέ- 2 λαβον. ἥ τε στοὰ ἡ Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἔς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων (ἡ γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτετύφλωτο) ἀνακομισθῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως 3 τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου, ἐς ὃν τὸ τοῦ

[1] οὐ supplied by Bs. (μὴ by Xyl.).
[2] ᾕρηντο Rk., ηἵραντο M.

and he built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name, not of Pollio, but of Livia. B.C. 15

However, he did this later. At the time we are considering he colonized numerous cities in Gaul and in Spain, restored to the people of Cyzicus their freedom, and gave money to the Paphians, who had suffered from an earthquake, besides allowing them, by a decree, to call their city Augusta. I record this, not that Augustus and the senators, too, did not aid many other cities also both before and after this occasion, in case of similar misfortunes,—indeed, if one should mention them all, the work involved in making the record would be endless,—but my purpose is to show that the senate even assigned names to cities as a mark of honour and that the inhabitants did not, as is usually done now, make out for themselves in each instance lists of names according to their own pleasure.

The next year Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Cornelius were consuls; and the curule aediles, after resigning their office because they had been elected under unfavourable auspices, received it again, contrary to precedent, at another meeting of the assembly. The Basilica of Paulus was burned and the flames spread from it to the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects there were carried up to the Palatine by the Vestal Virgins,[1]—except the eldest, who had become blind,—and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter. The basilica was afterwards rebuilt, nominally by Aemilius, who was B.C. 14

[1] Cf. xlii. 31, 3.

ποιήσαντός ποτε αὐτὴν γένος ἐληλύθει, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπό τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ἀνῳκοδομήθη· τότε δὲ οἵ τε Παννόνιοι νεωτερίσαντες αὖθις ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αἱ Ἄλπεις αἱ παραθαλασσίδιοι ὑπὸ Λιγύων τῶν κομητῶν καλουμένων ἐλευθέρως ἔτι καὶ τότε νε-
4 μόμεναι ἐδουλώθησαν. τά τε ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ τῷ Κιμμερίῳ νεοχμώσαντα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος γάρ τις τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου ἔγγονος εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Ἄσανδρος ἐτεθνήκει, εἰληφέναι λέγων, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Δύναμίν τε καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτετραμμένην, ἣ τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου θυγάτηρ καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἔγγονος ἀληθῶς ἦν, ἠγάγετο, καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον διὰ χειρὸς
5 ἐποιεῖτο. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγρίππας τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ὄντος βασιλεύοντα, ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὃς Σκριβώνιον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε (μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ Βοσπόριοι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν[1] αὐτοῦ προαπέκτειναν αὐτόν), ἀντιστάντων δέ οἱ ἐκείνων δέει τοῦ μὴ βασιλεύεσθαι αὐτῷ δοθῆναι, ἐς χεῖράς
6 σφισιν ἦλθε. καὶ ἐνίκησε μέν, οὐ μὴν καὶ παρεστήσατό σφας πρὶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Σινώπην ἐλθεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσοντα. οὕτω δὲ τά τε ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι παρεδόθησαν· ἥ τε γυνὴ ἡ Δύναμις συνῴκησεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ
7 Αὐγούστου δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δικαιώσαντος. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θυσίαι μὲν τῷ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ὀνόματι ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ψηφισθέντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμφθη· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἀρχὴν

[1] ἐπιβολὴν Rk., ἐπιβουλὴν M.

the descendant of the family of the man who had formerly erected it, but really by Augustus and the friends of Paulus. At this time the Pannonians revolted again and were subdued, and the Maritime Alps, inhabited by the Ligurians who were called Comati,[1] and were still free even then, were reduced to slavery. And the revolt among the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosporus was quelled. It seems that one Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates and to have received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married Asander's wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosporus under his control. Agrippa, upon learning of this, sent against him Polemon, the king of that part of Pontus bordering on Cappadocia. Polemon found Scribonius no longer alive, for the people of Bosporus, learning of his advance against them, had already put him to death; but when they resisted Polemon through fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in battle. But although he conquered them, he was unable to reduce them to submission until Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them. Then they laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemon; and the woman Dynamis became his wife, naturally not without the sanction of Augustus. For these successes sacrifices were offered in the name of Agrippa, but the triumph which was voted him was not celebrated. Indeed, he did not so much

B.C. 14

[1] *i.e.* the "long-haired." Cf. Gallia Comata, xlvi. 55, 5.

ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμῳ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνου τρόπῳ χρώμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοί τι τῷ κοινῷ ἔτ' ἐπέστελλον, οὔτε τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νικητηρίων 8 *ἐδέξατο·*[1] *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ, ὥς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυροῦντο.*

25 *Ὁ δ' οὖν*[2] *Αὔγουστος ἐπειδὴ πάντα τά τε ἐν ταῖς Γαλατίαις καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις ταῖς τ' Ἰβηρίαις, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλώσας ὡς ἑκάστοις πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων λαβών, τήν τε ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῖς μὲν δοὺς τοὺς δ' ἀφελόμενος, διῳκήσατο, τὸν μὲν Δροῦσον ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπί τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κυιντιλίου*[3] *Οὐάρου ὑπάτων* 2 *ἀνεκομίσθη. καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ ἀγγελία τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθοῦσα ἐν αἷς Κορνήλιος Βάλβος τὸ θέατρον τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον καθιερώσας θέας ἐπετέλει, ἐπί τε τούτῳ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐπανάξων ἐσεμνύνετο, καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπερ ὁ Τίβερις πλεονάσας ἐπεποιήκει, μηδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ πλοίῳ δυνηθείς, καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου* 3 *τιμῇ ἐπεψήφισεν. ἥ τε γὰρ βουλὴ ἠθροίσθη, καὶ ἔδοξέ σφισιν ἄλλα τε καὶ βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπανόδου ποιή-*

[1] ἐδέξατο Bk., ἐδέξαντο VM. [2] δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM.
[3] Κυιντιλίου R. Steph., κυιντίλλου VM.

as notify the senate of what had been accomplished, B.C. 14 and in consequence subsequent conquerors, treating his course as a precedent, also gave up the practice of sending reports to the public; and he would not accept the celebration of the triumph. For this reason,—at least, such is my opinion,—no one else of his peers was permitted to do so any longer, either, but they enjoyed merely the distinction of triumphal honours.

Now when Augustus had finished all the business which occupied him in the several provinces of Gaul, of Germany and of Spain,[1] having spent large sums upon special districts and received large sums from others, having bestowed freedom and citizenship upon some and taken them away from others, he left Drusus in Germany and returned to Rome himself in the consulship of Tiberius and Quintilius Varus. B.C. 13 Now it chanced that the news of his coming reached the city during those days when Cornelius Balbus was celebrating with spectacles the dedication of the theatre which is even to-day called by his name; and Balbus accordingly began to put on airs, as if it were he himself that was going to bring Augustus back,—although he was unable even to enter his theatre, except by boat, on account of the flood of water caused by the Tiber, which had overflowed its banks,—and Tiberius put the vote to him first, in honour of his building the theatre. For the senate convened, and among its other decrees voted to place an altar in the senate-chamber itself, to commemorate the return of Augus-

[1] Literally, "in the Gauls, in the Germanies, and the Spains." "Germany" here and just below refers to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, west of the Rhine. See note on liii. 12, 6.

σασθαι, τοῖς τε ἱκετεύσασιν αὐτὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ὄντα ἄδειαν εἶναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐδέξατο οὐδέτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπάντησιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
4 τότε ἐξέστη· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεκομίσθη, ὅπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐς τὰ προάστεια εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι ἐκδημοίη, καὶ ἀφορμώμενος καὶ ἐπανιὼν ὁμοίως ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀχληρὸς εἴη. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἔν τε τῷ παλατίῳ τὸν δῆμον ἠσπάσατο, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνελθὼν τήν τε δάφνην ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων περιεῖλε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε[1] δήμῳ προῖκα τά τε λουτρὰ καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν
5 ἐκείνην παρέσχε. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἐκ τούτου τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπεν ὑπὸ βράγχου, τὸ δὲ δὴ βιβλίον[2] τῷ ταμίᾳ[3] ἀναγνῶναι δοὺς τά τε πεπραγμένα οἱ κατηριθμήσατο, καὶ διέταξε τά τε ἔτη ὅσα οἱ πολῖται στρατεύσοιντο, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα παυσάμενοι τῆς στρατείας, ἀντὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν ἀεί ποτε ᾔτουν, λήψοιντο, ὅπως ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἤδη καταλεγόμενοι μηδὲν τούτων γε
6 ἕνεκα νεωτερίζωσιν. ἦν δὲ ὅ τε ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν τοῖς μὲν δορυφόροις δώδεκα τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἑκκαίδεκα, καὶ τὸ[4] ἀργύριον τοῖς μὲν ἔλαττον τοῖς δὲ πλεῖον. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνοις μὲν οὔθ' ἡδονὴν οὔτ' ὀργὴν ἔν γε τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐνεποίησε διὰ τὸ μήτε πάντων ὧν ἐπεθύμουν τυχεῖν μήτε πάντων διαμαρτεῖν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ μηκέτι τῶν κτημάτων ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι.

26 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τό τε θέατρον τὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καλούμενον καθιέρωσε, κἀν τῇ πανηγύρει

[1] τε Bk., δὲ VM.
[2] βιβλίον V, βυβλίον M.
[3] ταμίᾳ Bk., ταμιεῖαι VM.
[4] τὸ Bk., τὸ μὲν VM.

tus, and also voted that those who approached him as suppliants while he was inside the pomerium should not be punished. Nevertheless, he accepted neither of these honours, and even avoided encountering the people on this occasion also; for he entered the city at night. This he did nearly always whenever he went out to the suburbs or anywhere else, both on his way out and on his return, so that he might trouble none of the citizens. The next day he welcomed the people in the palace, and then, ascending the Capitol, took the laurel from around his fasces and placed it upon the knees of Jupiter; and he also placed baths and barbers at the service of the people free of charge on that day. After this he convened the senate, and though he made no address himself by reason of hoarseness, he gave his manuscript to the quaestor to read and thus enumerated his achievements and promulgated rules as to the number of years the citizens should serve in the army and as to the amount of money they should receive when discharged from service, in lieu of the land which they were always demanding. His object was that the soldiers, by being enlisted henceforth on certain definite terms, should find no excuse for revolt on this score. The number of years was twelve for the Pretorians and sixteen for the rest; and the money to be distributed was less in some cases and more in others. These measures caused the soldiers neither pleasure nor anger for the time being, because they neither obtained all they desired nor yet failed of all; but in the rest of the population the measures aroused confident hopes that they would not in future be robbed of their possessions. B.C. 13

He next dedicated the theatre named after Marcellus. In the course of the festival held for this

τῇ διὰ τοῦτο γενομένῃ τήν τε Τροίαν οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ ὁ Γάιος ἵππευσαν, καὶ θηρία Λιβυκὰ ἑξακόσια 2 ἀπεσφάγη· τά τε γενέθλια τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὁ Ἴουλλος ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖς στρατηγῶν καὶ ἱπποδρομίᾳ καὶ σφαγαῖς θηρίων ἑώρτασε, καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατὰ δόγμα αὐτῆς εἱστίασεν.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐξέτασις αὖθις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δέκα μυριάδων τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῖς ὥριστο διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς τῶν πατρῴων ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐστερῆσθαι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων περιουσίας κτωμένων ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι προήχθη, οὐκέτ' 4 οὐδεὶς ἐθελοντὶ[1] βουλεύσων εὑρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παῖδες εἰσὶν οἳ καὶ ἔγγονοι βουλευτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς πενόμενοι οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συμφορῶν προγονικῶν τεταπεινωμένοι, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀντεποιοῦντο τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-5 κατειλεγμένοι ἤδη ἐξώμνυντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρότερον μέν, ἀποδημοῦντος ἔτι τοῦ Αὐγούστου, δόγμα ἐγένετο τοὺς εἴκοσι καλουμένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἀποδείκνυσθαι· ὅθεν οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, μὴ καὶ ἑτέραν τινὰ ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσάγειν δυναμένων λαβών. 6 οἱ δὲ δὴ[2] εἴκοσιν οὗτοι ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσίν εἰσιν, οἵ τε τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου δίκας προστεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι τρεῖς οἱ τὸ τοῦ

[1] ἐθελοντὶ R. Steph., ἐθελοντῇ VM.
[2] οἱ δὲ δὴ Rk., εἶτε δὴ V, οἵ τε δὴ M.

purpose the patrician boys, including his grandson Gaius, performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy," [1] and six hundred wild beasts from Africa were slain. And to celebrate the birthday of Augustus, Iullus, the son of Antony, who was praetor, gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts, and entertained both the emperor and the senate, in pursuance of a decree of that body, upon the Capitol. B.C. 13

After this there was another purging of the lists of the senate. At first, as we have seen, the rating of senators had been fixed at four hundred thousand sesterces, because many of them had been stripped of their ancestral estates by the wars, and then, as time went on and men acquired wealth, it had been raised to one million sesterces. Consequently no one was any longer found who would of his own choice become a senator; on the contrary, sons and grandsons of senators, some of them really poor and others reduced to humble station by the misfortunes of their ancestors, not only would not lay claim to the senatorial dignity, but also, when already entered on the lists, swore that they were ineligible. Therefore, previous to this time, while Augustus was still absent from the city, a decree had been passed that the Vigintiviri, as they were called, should be appointed from the knights; and thus none of these men eligible to be senators was any longer enrolled in the senate without having also held one of the other offices that led to it. These Vigintiviri are what is left of the Vigintisexviri, of whom three [2] are in charge of criminal trials, another three [3] attend to

[1] See xliii. 23, 6, and note. [2] *Tresviri capitales.*
[3] *Tresviri monetales.*

νομίσματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἵ τε τέσσαρες οἱ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ὁδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, καὶ οἱ δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἑκατὸν 7 *ἄνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι· οἱ γὰρ δὴ δύο οἱ τὰς ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὁδοὺς ἐγχειριζόμενοι, οἵ τε τέσσαρες οἱ ἐς τὴν* Καμπανίαν *πεμπόμενοι, κατελέλυντο. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐν τῇ τοῦ* Αὐγούστου *ἐκδημίᾳ ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἵν', ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς ἔτι ῥᾳδίως τὴν δημαρχίαν ᾔτει,*[1] *κλήρῳ τινὲς*[2] *ἐκ τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ μήπω τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων* 8 *καθιστῶνται. τότε δὲ αὐτὸς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξήτασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων οὐκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐντός τε τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης ὄντας καὶ τὸ τίμημα ἔχοντας βουλεῦσαι κατηνάγκασε, χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις* 9 *ἀνάπηρος ἦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα καὶ αὐτός που αὐτῶν*[3] *ἑώρα, περὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅρκοις ἐπιστοῦτο αὐτῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ ἑτέρων συνομνύντων σφίσι καὶ λογισμὸν τῆς τε ἀπορίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ βίου διδόντων.*

27 Καὶ *οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιοῦτος ἦν, τῶν δ' ἰδίων*[4] *παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ* Τιβερίῳ *ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι τὸν* Γάιον *ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ εὐκταίᾳ, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸν* 2 *ἐτίμησαν. ἐπειδή τε τοῦ* Λεπίδου *μεταλλάξαντος*

[1] *ᾔτει* M, *ἤτοι* V.
[2] *τινὲς* Leuncl., *τινὰς* VM.
[3] *αὐτῶν* M, *αὐτὸν* V.
[4] *ἰδίων* cod. Coisl., *ἰδιωτῶν* VM.

the coinage of the money, four[1] look after the streets in the city, and ten[2] are assigned to the courts which are allotted to the Centumviri; for the two[3] who were once entrusted with the roads outside the walls and the four[4] who used to be sent to Campania had been abolished. This was one decree that was passed during the absence of Augustus; there was also another providing that, since no one was any longer ready to seek the tribuneship, some of the ex-quaestors who were not yet forty years old should be appointed to the office by lot. But on the present occasion Augustus himself made an investigation of the whole senatorial class. With those who were over thirty-five years of age he did not concern himself, but in the case of those who were under that age and possessed the requisite rating he compelled them to become senators, unless one of them was physically disabled. He examined their persons himself, but in regard to their property he accepted sworn statements, the men themselves and others as witnesses taking an oath and rendering an account of their poverty as well as of their manner of life.

B.C. 13

Nor did he, while showing such strictness in the public business, neglect his private affairs; indeed, he rebuked both Tiberius, because at the festival, given under Tiberius' management, in fulfilment of a vow for the emperor's return, he had seated Gaius at the emperor's side, and the people for honouring Gaius with applause and eulogies.[5] On the death of

[1] *Quatuorviri viis in urbe purgandis*; cf. chap. 8, 4.
[2] *Decemviri stlitibus iudicandis.*
[3] *Duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis.*
[4] *Quatuor praefecti Capuam Cumas.*
[5] Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 56.

ἀρχιέρεως ἀπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσασθαι . . .[1] αὐτῷ[2] ἠθέλησεν, οὔτε τι αὐτῶν προσήσεσθαι ἔφη, καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐξανέστη τε
3 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οὔτε ἐκεῖνα ἔτ' ἐκυρώθη οὔτ' οἰκίαν τινὰ δημοσίαν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιέρεων ἐν κοινῷ πάντως οἰκεῖν ἐχρῆν, ἐδημοσίωσεν. τὴν μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ἱερῶν[3] ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἔδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ[4] ὁμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν αὐτῶν ἦν.

4 Κορνηλίου τε Σισέννου[5] αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς βίῳ σχόντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλεύσαντός οἱ αὐτοῦ ἠγάγετο αὐτήν, περιοργής τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἶπε μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔπραξε δεινόν, ἐκπηδήσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔπειτα μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανῆλθεν, ἑλόμενος, ὥς γε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη, τοῦτο μᾶλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχον ποιῆσαι ἢ κατὰ χώραν μείνας ἀναγκασθῆναί τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι.

28 Κἀν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὖθις ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμησείουσαν ἐξέπεμψε, μεῖζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχῦσαι ἐπιτρέ-
2 ψας. καὶ ὃς τὴν μὲν στρατείαν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐν ᾧ Μᾶρκος τε Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλπίκιος ὑπάτευον, ἐνεστηκότος ἐποιήσατο, ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν Παννονίων πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ

[1] Lacuna recognized by Elsner. [2] αὐτῷ V, αὐτῶν M.
[3] ἱερῶν Leuncl., ἱερέων VM.
[4] ἐπειδὴ H. Steph., ἐπεὶ δὲ VM.
[5] Σισέννου Glandorp, σισεντίου VM.

Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate B.C. 13 accordingly wished to vote him [other honours (?)]; but he declared that he would not accept any of them, and when the senators urged him, he rose and left the meeting. That measure, therefore, now failed of passage, and he also received no official residence; but, inasmuch as it was absolutely necessary that the high priest should live in a public residence, he made a part of his own house public property. The house of the *rex sacrificulus*, however, he gave to the Vestal Virgins, because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments.

When Cornelius Sisenna was censured for the conduct of his wife, and stated in the senate that he had married her with the knowledge and on the advice of the emperor, Augustus became exceedingly angry. He did not, to be sure, say or do anything violent, but rushed out of the senate-house, and then returned a little later, choosing to take this course, though it was not the correct thing to do, as he said to his friends afterward, rather than to remain where he was and be compelled to do something harsh.

Meanwhile he increased the power of Agrippa, who had returned from Syria, by giving him the tribunician power again for another five years, and he sent him out to Pannonia, which was eager for war, entrusting him with greater authority than the officials outside Italy ordinarily possessed. And Agrippa set out on the campaign in spite of the fact that the winter had already begun (this was the year in which Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius B.C. 12 were the consuls); but when the Pannonians became terrified at his approach and gave up their

καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι νεωτερισάντων ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐν
3 *Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενος ἐνόσησε. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αὔγουστος (ἔτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὁπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας τῷ τῶν παίδων ὀνόματι τιθείς) ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ἔς τε τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προέθηκε, τόν τε λόγον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε, παραπέτασμά τι πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείνας,*
4 *ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα διὰ τί ἐποίησεν, εἴρηται δὲ ὅμως τοῖς μὲν ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τῶν τιμητῶν ἔπραττεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἀρχιέρεῳ ἀπείρηται νεκρὸν ὁρᾶν οὔτε τῷ τιμητῇ, πλὴν ἂν τὸ τέλος ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς μέλλῃ ἐπάξειν· ἂν γάρ τινα πρὸ τοῦ καθαρσίου ἴδῃ, ἀνάδαστα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεται.*
5 *τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἔδρασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηνέχθη ἐποιήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μνημείῳ ἔθαψε, καίτοι ἴδιον ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ λαβόντα.*[1]

29 *Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν οὕτω μετήλλαξε, τά τε ἄλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φιλίᾳ πρός τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ*
2 *συμφορώτατον χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρετῇ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ἐθελοντὴς ἡττᾶτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέ-*

[1] *λαβόντα* M, *ὄντα* V.

plans for rebellion, he returned, and upon reaching Campania, fell ill. Augustus happened to be exhibiting, in the name of his sons, contests of armed warriors at the Panathenaic festival,[1] and when he learned of Agrippa's illness, he set out for Italy; and finding him dead, he conveyed his body to the capital and caused it to lie in state in the Forum. He also delivered the eulogy over the dead, after first hanging a curtain in front of the corpse. Why he did this, I do not know. Some, however, have stated that it was because he was high priest, others that it was because he was performing the duties of censor. But both are mistaken, since neither the high priest is forbidden to look at a corpse, nor the censor, either, except when he is about to complete the census; but if he looks upon a corpse then, before his purification, all his work has to be done over again. Now Augustus not only did what I have recorded, but also had the funeral procession of Agrippa conducted in the manner in which his own was afterward conducted, and he buried him in his own sepulchre, though Agrippa had taken one for himself in the Campus Martius.

B.C. 12

Such was the end of Agrippa, who had in every way clearly shown himself the noblest of the men of his day and had used the friendship of Augustus with a view to the greatest advantage both of the emperor himself and of the commonwealth. For the more he surpassed others in excellence, the more inferior he kept himself of his own free will to the emperor; and while he devoted all the wisdom and valour he himself possessed to the highest interests of Augustus, he lavished all the

[1] In Athens.

χων πᾶσαν τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν
3 ἐς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργετεῖν ἀνήλισκεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὔτ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐπαχθὴς οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπίφθονος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ τε τὴν μοναρχίαν (ὡς καὶ δυναστείας ὄντως ἐπιθυμητὴς[1]) συνέστησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐεργε-
4 σίαις ὡς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο. καὶ τότε γοῦν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥστε προῖκα αὐτοὺς λοῦσθαι, χωρία τινὰ ἐς τοῦτο τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δούς. καὶ ὃς οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἐδημοσίευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκατὸν[2] δραχμὰς τῷ δήμῳ ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου
5 κελεύσαντος διένειμε. τῶν τε γὰρ πλείστων αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ Χερρόνησος ἦν[3] ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐλθοῦσα· καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτὸν ἐπόθησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἔντιμον παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἐποίησε, τόν τε υἱὸν τὸν τελευτήσαντί οἱ γεννηθέντα Ἀγρίππαν προση-
6 γόρευσεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκλιπεῖν τι τῶν πατρίων, καίπερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἀπαντῆσαι ἐθέλοντος, ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσε· πολλάκις τε[4]
7 καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. οὕτω γοῦν οὐκ ἴδιον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου οἰκίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ σημεῖα ὅσα πρὸ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν

[1] ἐπιθυμητὴς Xyl., ἐπιθυμητῆι VM cod. Peir.
[2] ἑκατὸν M, ἕκαστον V cod. Peir.
[3] ἦν supplied by Bs. [4] τε Bs., γε VM.

honour and influence he received from him upon benefactions to others. It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of popular government. At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, and for this purpose gave Augustus certain estates.[1] And the emperor not only turned these over to the state, but also distributed to the people four hundred sesterces apiece, giving it to be understood that Agrippa had so ordered. And, indeed, he had inherited most of Agrippa's property, including the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which had come in some way or other into Agrippa's hands. Augustus felt his loss for a long time and hence caused him to be honoured in the eyes of the people; and he named the posthumous son born to him Agrippa. Nevertheless, he did not allow the citizens at large, although none of the prominent men wished to attend the festivals, to omit any of the time-honoured observances, and he in person superintended the gladiatorial combats, though they were often held without his presence. The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as are wont to happen

[1] For the baths, see liii. 27, 1. The estates here mentioned were to provide an income for the maintenance of the baths.

συμβαίνειν σφίσιν εἴωθε, καὶ τότε συνενεχθῆναι. βύαι τε γὰρ τῇ πόλει διεφοίτησαν, καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ οἰκίαν, ἐς ἣν οἱ ὕπατοι ἐν
8 ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καταλύουσιν, ἐνέσκηψε. τό τε ἄστρον ὁ κομήτης ὠνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθεὶς ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη. καὶ πυρὶ ἄλλα τε τῆς πόλεως συχνὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνὴ ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ βωμοῦ τινος ἔμπυρα ἐμβαλόντων.

30 Οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ἀγρίππαν ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ δὴ[1] τοῦτο ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπιμελητής τε καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴς τῶν τρόπων ἐς ἕτερα ἔτη πέντε αἱρεθεὶς (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κατὰ προθεσμίας, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἐλάμβανε) θυμιᾶν τε τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἕδρα αὐτῶν ᾖ, καὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὴ[2] ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα θεοσεβῶσι, τὸ δὲ ἵν' ἀπονητὶ[3] συνίωσιν,
2 ἐκέλευσε. τὴν δὲ δημαρχίαν ὀλίγων σφόδρα διὰ τὸ τὴν ἰσχύν σφων καταλελύσθαι αἰτούντων, ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν μὴ ἔλαττον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἕνα ἕκαστον, κἀκ τούτων τὸ πλῆθος τοὺς ἐνδέοντας αἱρεῖσθαι ἐφ' ᾧ τε,[4] εἰ μὲν καὶ βουλεύειν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιεν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα αὖθις ἐπανιέναι ἐξεῖναι.
3 Ἐπειδή τε ἡ Ἀσία τὸ ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας τινὸς διὰ σεισμοὺς μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο,[5] τόν τε φόρον αὐτῆς

[1] δὴ V, om. M.
[2] μὴ supplied by Bk., following Casaubon.
[3] ἀπονητὶ R. Steph., ἀπονητεὶ VM.
[4] ἐφ' ᾧ τε Bk., σφισιν VM.
[5] ἐδεῖτο Dind., ἐδέετο VM.

to them before the greatest calamities. Owls kept flitting about the city, and lightning struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites.[1] The star called the comet[2] hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the hut of Romulus,[3] which was set ablaze by crows which dropped upon it burning meat from some altar. B.C. 12

These were the events connected with Agrippa's death. After this Augustus was chosen supervisor and corrector of morals[4] for another five years; for he received this office also for limited periods, as he did the monarchy. He ordered the senators to burn incense in their assembly hall whenever they held a session, and not to pay the usual visit to him, his purpose being, in the first instance, that they should show reverence to the gods, and, in the second, that they should not be hindered in convening. And inasmuch as extremely few candidates sought the tribuneship, because its power had been abolished, he made a law that the magistrates in office should each nominate one of the knights who possessed not less than one million sesterces, and that the plebs should then fill the vacancies in the tribuneship from this list, with the understanding that, if the men desired to be senators later, they might do so, or otherwise they should return again to the equestrian order.

When the province of Asia was in dire need of assistance on account of earthquakes, he paid into

[1] At the Feriae Latinae.

[2] *i.e.* the "hairy" star.

[3] Cf. xlviii. 43, 4.

[4] *Praefectus moribus.*

τὸν ἔτειον (ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων) τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε, καὶ ἄρχοντά οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἱρετόν, ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη προσέταξε.

4 Κακῶς τέ ποτε τοῦ Ἀπουλείου[1] καὶ τοῦ Μαικήνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τινὶ μοιχείας, οὐχ ὅτι τι[2] καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ κρινομένῳ σπουδῇ συνῄροντο, ἀκουόντων ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἕδρᾳ καθιζήσας δεινὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ μήτε τοὺς συγγενεῖς μήτε τοὺς 5 φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη. καὶ αὐτὸν διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδριᾶσί τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτίμησαν, καὶ (τῷ τοῖς τε ἀγύνοις καὶ ταῖς[3] ἀνάνδροις καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις) καὶ συνδειπνεῖν (ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις) αὐτοῦ δοῦναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδέτερον.

31 Ὡς δ' οὖν[4] ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ὅνπερ που δι' ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀνάγκην τινὰ ἠγάπα, ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ συνεργοῦ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προφέροντος, ὥστε καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἐδεῖτο, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκων προσείλετο· οἱ γὰρ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ ἐν παισὶν ἔτι καὶ 2 τότε ἦσαν. καὶ προαποσπάσας καὶ ἐκείνου τὴν γυναῖκα, καίτοι τοῦ τε Ἀγρίππου θυγατέρα (ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς γαμετῆς) οὖσαν, καὶ τέκνον τὸ μὲν ἤδη τρέφουσαν τὸ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, τήν τε Ἰουλίαν οἱ ἠγγύησε[5] καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παννονίους αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε· τέως μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν

[1] ἀπουλείου M, ἀπουλίου V Xiph.
[2] τι M, om. V.
[3] ταῖς V, τοῖς M.
[4] δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν VM.
[5] ἠγγύησε V, ἐγγύησε M.

the public treasury from his private funds the amount of its annual tribute and assigned to it for two years a governor chosen by lot and not appointed. B.C. 12

On one occasion, when Apuleius and Maecenas were subjected to abuse in court when a case of adultery was being tried, not because they had behaved wantonly themselves, but because they were actively aiding the man on trial, Augustus entered the court-room and sat in the praetor's chair; he took no harsh measures, but simply forbade the accuser to insult either his relatives or his friends, and then rose and left the room. For this action and others the senators honoured him with statues, paid for by private subscription, and also by giving bachelors and spinsters the right to behold spectacles and to attend banquets along with other people on his birthday; for neither of these things had been permitted previously.

When now Agrippa, whom he loved because of his excellence and not because of any kinship, was dead, Augustus felt the need of an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass all the others in both rank and influence, so that he might transact all business promptly and without being the object of envy and intrigue. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius; for his own grandsons were still boys at this time. He first made him, as he had made Agrippa, divorce his wife, though she was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage and was bringing up one child and was about to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him, he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet through fear of

φοβηθέντες ἡσύχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος
3 αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν. καί σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας πορθήσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κακώσας, ἐχειρώσατο, τοῖς Σκορδίσκοις,[1] ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεύοις οὖσι, συμμάχοις ὅτι μάλιστα χρησάμενος. καὶ τά τε ὅπλα σφῶν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ πλεῖον
4 ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἀπέδοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τά γε[2] ἐπινίκια ἐψηφίσατο, ὁ δ' Αὔγουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἑορτάσαι, τὰς δὲ τιμὰς τὰς ἐπινικίους ἀντέδωκε.

32 Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ συνέβη. τῶν τε γὰρ Συγάμβρων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διά τε τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ[3] τοὺς Γαλάτας μὴ ἐθελοδουλεῖν πολεμωθέντων σφίσι, τό τε ὑπήκοον προκατέλαβε, τοὺς πρώτους αὐτοῦ, προφάσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἣν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μεταπεμψάμενος, καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τηρήσας τὸν
2 Ῥῆνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὴν τῶν Οὐσιπετῶν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Βατάουων[4] νῆσον διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συγαμβρίδα ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιπαρελθὼν συχνὰ ἐπόρθησεν. ἔς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν διὰ τοῦ Ῥήνου καταπλεύσας τούς τε Φρισίους[5] ᾠκειώσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Χαυκίδα διὰ τῆς λίμνης ἐμβαλὼν ἐκινδύνευσε, τῶν πλοίων ὑπὸ[6] τῆς τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παλιρροίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ

[1] σκορδίσκοις M, κορδίσκοις V.
[2] γε H. Steph., τε VM.
[3] τὸ supplied by R. Steph.
[4] Βατάουων Leuncl., Πατάουων VM.
[5] Φρισίους Bk., φρεισίους VM.
[6] ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ VM.

Agrippa, but now after his death they had revolted. B.C. 12
Tiberius subdued them after ravaging much of their country and doing much injury to the inhabitants, making as much use as possible of his allies the Scordisci, who were neighbours of the Pannonians and were similarly equipped. He took away the enemy's arms and sold most of the men of military age into slavery, to be deported from the country. For these achievements the senate voted him a triumph, but Augustus did not permit him to celebrate it, though he granted him the triumphal honours instead.

Drusus had this same experience. The Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that the Gauls were restive under their slavery, and Drusus therefore seized the subject territory ahead of them, sending for the foremost men in it on the pretext of the festival which they celebrate even now around the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum. He also waited for the Germans to cross the Rhine, and then repulsed them. Next he crossed over to the country of the Usipetes,[1] passing along the very island of the Batavians, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambrian territory, where he devastated much country. He sailed down the Rhine to the ocean, won over the Frisians, and crossing the lake,[2] invaded the country of the Chauci, where he ran into danger, as his ships were

[1] The Usipetes or Usipii dwelt at this time just east of the Rhine and north of the Lupia (Lippe).

[2] Some have taken this to be the Zuyder Zee (Lacus Flevo), others the bay at the mouth of the Ems, east of which the Chauci lived. Presumably he would already have sailed through the Zuyder Zee to reach the Frisians.

3 γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων[1] πεζῇ συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε (χειμὼν γὰρ ἦν), καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν ἀστυνόμος ἐπί τε Κυίντου Αἰλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ὑπάτων, καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς
33 ἔχων, ἀπεδείχθη· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ὥρμησε, καὶ τόν τε Ῥῆνον ἐπεραιώθη καὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας κατεστρέψατο, τόν τε Λουπίαν ἔζευξε καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε[2] μέχρι
2 τοῦ Οὐισούργου.[3] ἠδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι οἱ Σύγαμβροι τοὺς Χάττους, μόνους τῶν προσοίκων μὴ ἐθελήσαντάς[4] σφισι συμμαχῆσαι, ἐν ὀργῇ σχόντες πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεστράτευσαν, κἂν[5] τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἔλαθε[6] τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διεξελθών. καὶ διέβη ἂν καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον, εἰ μὴ τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐνέστη καί τι καὶ σμῆνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ
3 ὤφθη. οὔτ' οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταῦτα προεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινῶς ἐκινδύνευσεν· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἄλλως τε ἐνέδραις αὐτὸν ἐκάκωσαν, καί ποτε ἐς στενὸν καὶ κοῖλον χωρίον κατακλείσαντες ὀλίγου διέφθειραν, κἂν πασσυδὶ ἂν[7] ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντές σφων ὡς καὶ ἑαλωκότων καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς[8]

[1] φρισίων M., φρεισίων V.
[2] προεχώρησε Leuncl., προσεχώρησε VM.
[3] Οὐισούργου Leuncl., οὐισούτρου VM. (and similarly just below).

left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean. He was saved on this occasion by the Frisians, who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter. Upon arriving in Rome he was appointed praetor urbanus, in the consulship of Quintius Aelius and Paulus Fabius, although he already had the rank ot praetor. At the beginning of spring he set out again for the war, crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia,[1] invaded the country of the Sugambri, and advanced through it into the country of the Cherusci, as far as the Visurgis.[2] He was able to do this because the Sugambri, in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population; and seizing this opportunity, he traversed their country unnoticed. He would have crossed the Visurgis also, had he not run short of provisions, and had not the winter set in and, besides, a swarm of bees been seen in his camp. Consequently he proceeded no farther, but retired to friendly territory, encountering great dangers on the way. For the enemy harassed him everywhere by ambuscades, and once they shut him up in a narrow pass and all but destroyed his army; indeed, they would have annihilated them, had they not conceived a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke, and so come

B.C. 12

B.C. 11

[1] The Lippe. [2] The Weser.

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[4] ἐθελήσαντάς Bk., θελήσαντάς VM. [5] κἂν Rk., καὶ VM.
[6] ἔλαθε M, διέλαθε V. [7] ἂν M, om. V.
[8] ἐπικοπῆς M, ἐπισκοπῆς V.

4 ὄντων ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἀσύντακτοι[1] ἐχώρησαν. νικηθέντες γὰρ ἐκ τούτου οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως ἐθρασύνοντο, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν μέν σφας παρελύπουν, ἐγγὺς δὲ οὐ προσῄεσαν, ὥστε τὸν Δροῦσον ἀντικαταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ τε ᾗ[2] ὅ τε Λουπίας καὶ ὁ Ἐλίσων συμμίγνυνται φρούριόν τί σφισιν ἐπιτειχίσαι, καὶ ἕτερον ἐν Χάττοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ 5 Ῥήνῳ. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τάς τε ἐπινικίους τιμὰς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐσελάσαι, τῇ τε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἐξουσίᾳ, ἐπειδὰν διαστρατηγήσῃ, χρήσασθαι ἔλαβε. τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἐκείνῳ τότε καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ πρότερον, οὐ[3] μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐδόθη, καίπερ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐξήσαντος.

34 Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ἥ τε πανήγυρις ἡ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποιήθη, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ 2 πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαῖς ἐτιμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθέν, ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεσι πρός τινος τῶν ἀεὶ στρατηγούντων ἐγίγνετο· τὰ δὲ δὴ Αὐγουστάλια, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἄγεται, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη.

3 Ὅ τε Τιβέριος τούς τε Δελμάτας νεοχμώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Παννονίους μετὰ τοῦτο πρός τε τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀπουσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμῶν τε ἅμα

[1] ἀσύντακτοι M, ἀσύντακτον V.
[2] ᾗ M, ἦν V.
[3] πρότερον οὐ Leuncl., οὐ πρότερον VM.

to close quarters with them in disorder. This led to their being worsted, after which they were no longer so bold, but kept up a petty annoyance of his troops from a distance, while refusing to come nearer. Drusus accordingly conceived a scorn of them in his turn and fortified a stronghold against them at the point where the Lupia and the Eliso[1] unite, and also another among the Chatti on the bank of the Rhine. For these successes he received the triumphal honours, the right to ride into the city on horseback,[2] and to exercise the powers of a proconsul when he should finish his term as praetor. Indeed, the title of *imperator* was given him by the soldiers by acclamation as it had been given to Tiberius earlier; but it was not granted to him by Augustus, although the number of times the emperor himself gained this appellation was increased as the result of the exploits of these two men. B.C. 11

While Drusus was thus occupied, the festival belonging to his praetorship was celebrated in the most costly manner; and the birthday of Augustus was honoured by the slaughter of wild beasts both in the Circus and in many other parts of the city. This was done almost every year by one of the praetors then in office, even if not authorised by a decree; but the Augustalia, which are still observed, were then for the first time celebrated in pursuance of a decree.

Tiberius subdued the Dalmatians, who began a rebellion, and later the Pannonians, who likewise revolted, taking advantage of the absence of himself and the larger part of his army. He made war

[1] The Alme, uniting with the Lippe at Paderborn. The usual classical form of the name is Aliso.

[2] That is, to celebrate an *ovatio*.

ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τῇ τοτὲ δὲ τῇ μεθιστάμενος, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἄθλων[1] τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Δρούσῳ
4 τυχεῖν. κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δελματία[2] τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φρουρᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίαν δεομένη, παρεδόθη.

5 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον· ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις Οὐολογαίσης[3] Θρᾷξ Βησσός,[4] ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διονύσου, προσεποιήσατό τινας πολλὰ θειάσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποστὰς τόν τε Ῥασκύποριν τὸν τοῦ Κότυος υἱὸν νικήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥυμητάλκην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀμαχεὶ γυμνώσας τῶν δυνάμεων τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ[5] δόξῃ φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἔς τε τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε
6 καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμήνατο. ὡς οὖν οὗτός τε ταῦτ' ἐποίει καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργουν, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἧς ἦρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσι· καὶ προαναχωρησάντων οἴκαδε τῶν Βησσῶν ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτὸν προσιόντα, ἔς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκείνην τε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάντων
7 σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντὰς προσθέμενος[6] τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθείς, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο νεοχμώσαντάς τινας αὐτῶν αὖθις κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἱερομηνίαι καὶ τιμαὶ ἐπινίκιοι ἐδόθησαν.

[1] ἄθλων Bk., ἄλλων VM. [2] Δελματία St., δαλματία VM.
[3] Οὐολογαίσης Reim., βουλογαίσης VM.
[4] Βησσός V, βεσσός M. [5] θεοῦ Bk., θείου VM.
[6] προσθέμενος Oddey, προσθεμένους VM.

upon both of them at once, shifting now to one front and now to the other. As a result of his success he gained the same prizes as Drusus. After this Dalmatia was given over into the keeping of Augustus, because of the feeling that it would always require armed forces both on its own account and because of the neighbouring Pannonians.

B.C. 11

These men, then, were thus engaged. At this same period Vologaesus, a Bessian from Thrace and a priest of the Dionysus worshipped by that people, gained a following by practising many divinations, and with these adherents revolted. He conquered and killed Rhascyporis, the son of Cotys, and afterwards, thanks to his reputation for supernatural power, he stripped Rhoemetalces, the victim's uncle, of his forces without a battle and compelled him to take flight. In pursuit of him he invaded the Chersonese, where he wrought great havoc. Because of these deeds of his and because of the injuries the Sialetae were causing to Macedonia, Lucius Piso was ordered to proceed against them from Pamphylia, where he was governor. The Bessi, now, when they heard that he was drawing near, retired homeward ahead of him. So he came into their country, and though defeated at first, vanquished them in turn and ravaged both their land and that of the neighbouring tribes which had taken part in the uprising. At this time he reduced all of them to submission, winning over some with their consent, terrifying others into reluctant surrender, and coming to terms with others as the result of battles ; and later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal honours were granted him.

35 Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αὔγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ἰδιώτης ἀπογραψάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελέξατο. ὁρῶν δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἀεὶ συχνοὶ συνελέγοντο, ἐκέλευσε τὰ δόγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ἐλάττοσιν ἢ τετρακοσίοις γίγνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν 2 τινα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν ἄλλως κυροῦσθαι. ἐπειδή τε ἀργύριον αὖθις ἐς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ[1] καὶ ἐκείνη καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεσήνεγκαν, ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐδεμίαν, Ὑγιείας δὲ δημοσίας καὶ προσέτι καὶ Ὁμονοίας Εἰρήνης τε ἔστησεν. ἀεί τε γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ που κατέβαλλον αὐτό, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ προσιόντες οἱ μὲν 3 πλεῖον οἱ δὲ ἔλαττον ἐδίδοσαν. καὶ ὃς προσθεὶς ἂν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον ἢ καὶ πλέον ἀντεδίδου, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἤκουσα, ὅτι καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀργύριον ἐκ λογίου τινὸς ἢ καὶ ὀνείρατος παρὰ τῶν προστυχόντων οἱ, ὡς καὶ προσαιτῶν, ἐν μιᾷ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ ἐλάμβανε.

4 Καὶ τοῦτο μέν, εἴ γέ τῳ πιστόν, οὕτω παραδέδοται· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ τήν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνῴκισε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιείου[2] ἡρῴου, παραπετάσματι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ 5 χρησάμενος. καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκεῖ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον εἶπε, καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτῆς οἱ

[1] αὐτοῦ Zon., ἑαυτοῦ VM.
[2] Ἰουλιείου Dind., ἰουνίου VM.

BOOK LIV

While these events were occurring, Augustus took a census, making a list of all his own property like any private citizen; and he also made a roster of the senate. As he saw that sometimes there were not many present at the meetings of that body, he ordered that its decrees should be passed even when less than four hundred were present; for hitherto no decree could have validity if passed by a smaller number. When the senate and the people once more contributed money for statues of Augustus, he would set up no statue of himself, but instead set up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax. The citizens, it seems, were nearly always and on every pretext collecting money for this same object, and at last they ceased paying it privately, as one might call it, but would come to him on the very first day of the year and give, some more, some less, into his own hands; and he, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest. I have also heard the story that on one day of the year, following some oracle or dream, he would assume the guise of a beggar and would accept money from those who came up to him.

B.C. 11

This is the tradition, whether credible to any one or not. That year he gave Julia in marriage to Tiberius, and when his sister died, he caused her body to lie in state in the shrine of Julius; and on this occasion also he had a curtain over the corpse.[1] He himself delivered the funeral oration there, and Drusus delivered one from the rostra; for the mourning was publicly observed and the senators had changed their dress. Her body was carried in

[1] Cf. chap. 28, 3.

γαμβροὶ ἐξήνεγκαν, τὰ δὲ δὴ ψηφισθέντα αὐτῇ οὐ πάντα ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐδέξατο.

36 Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ὅ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μερούλαν ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ δόγματα τὰ[1] ἑκάστοτε γιγνόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκελεύσθη, ἐπειδὴ οἵ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐπιτετραμμένοι[2] διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦτ' ἔπραττον, καί τις ἐκ τούτου καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανὸν τὸν Γέμινον ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέῳκτο γάρ) κλεισθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη· οἵ τε γὰρ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἴστρον πεπηγότα διαβάντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται[3] πρὸς τὰς ἐσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.

3 καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσεληλύθει, καταπεμφθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο,[4] τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων (πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Συγάμβρους μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς[5] χώρας αὐτῶν, ἣν οἰκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξανέστησαν) ὁ Δροῦσος

4 τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε τὰ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἀνεκομίσθησαν (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Λουγδουνίδι[6] τὰ πολλὰ οὗτος[7] ἐγγύθεν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεύων διέτριβε), καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψήφιστο ἢ καὶ ἄλλως καθήκοντα ἦν γενέσθαι, ἐπετέλεσαν.

[1] τὰ supplied by Rk.
[2] ἐπιτετραμμένοι R. Steph., ἐπιγεγραμμένοι VM.
[3] Δελμάται St., δαλμάται VM.
[4] ἀνεκτήσατο Pflugk, ἀνεστήσατο VM.

the procession by her sons-in-law; but not all the honours voted for her were accepted by Augustus. B.C. 11

At this same period the priest of Jupiter was appointed for the first time since Merula,[1] and the quaestors were ordered to preserve the decrees passed at various times, inasmuch as the tribunes and aediles, who had previously been entrusted with this duty, were performing it through their assistants, and in consequence some mistakes and confusion occurred.

It was voted that the temple of Janus Geminus, which had been opened, should be closed, on the ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed, however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute. Against these people Tiberius was sent from Gaul, whither he had gone in company with Augustus; and he reduced them again to submission. The Germans, particularly the Chatti, were either harassed or subjugated by Drusus. The Chatti, it seems, had gone to join the Sugambri, having abandoned their own country, which the Romans had given them to dwell in. Afterwards Tiberius and Drusus returned to Rome with Augustus, who had been tarrying in Lugdunensis much of the time, keeping watch on the Germans from near at hand; and they carried out whatever decrees had been passed in honour of their victories or did whatever else devolved upon them. B.C. 10

[1] See vol. ii. 477, and note.

[5] τῆς Rk., τῆς τε VM.
[6] Λουγδουνίδι R. Steph., λουγδωνίδι VM.
[7] οὗτος Reim., οὕτως VM.

BOOK LV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Δροῦσος ἀπέθανεν.
β. Ὡς τὸ Λιουίας τέμενος καθιερώθη.
γ. Ὡς τὸ Ἀγρίππου πεδίον καθιερώθη.
δ. Ὡς τὸ διριβιτώριον[1] καθιερώθη.
ε. Ὡς Τιβέριος ἐς Ῥόδον ἀνεχώρησεν.
ϛ. Ὡς ἡ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.
η. Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὢν καθιερώθη.
θ. Ὡς Λούκιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀπέθανον.
ι. Ὡς Αὔγουστος Τιβέριον ἐποιήσατο.
κ. Ὡς Λιουία παρῄνεσεν Αὐγούστῳ φιλανθρωπότερον ἄρχειν.
λ. Περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ὡς οἱ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ χρήματα διοικήσοντες κατέστησαν.
μ. Ὡς οἱ νυκτοφύλακες κατέστησαν.
ν. Ὡς Δελμάταις καὶ Παννονίοις Τιβέριος ἐπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Τιβ. υἱ. Δροῦσος Τ.[2] Κυίνκτιος Τ. υἱ. Κρισπῖνος	ὕπ.
Γ. Μάρκιος Λ. υἱ.[3] Κηνσωρῖνος Γ. Ἀσίννιος[4] Γ. υἱ. Γάλλος	ὕπ.
Τιβ. Κλαύδιος[5] Τιβ. υἱ. Νέρων τὸ β′ Γν.[6] Καλπούρνιος Γν.[7] υἱ. Πίσων[8]	ὕπ.[9]
Δέκιμος Λαίλιος Δεκίμου υἱ. Βάλβος Γ. Ἀντίστιος Γ. υἱ. Οὐέτερ	ὕπ.

ε

[1] διριβιτώριον Bs., δειριβιτόριον M.
[2] T. Bs., Τι M.
[3] Λ. υἱ. supplied by Bs.
[4] Ἀσίννιος Bs., ἀσιάνιος M.
[5] Κλαύδιος Xyl., κλ′ M.
[6] Γν. supplied by H. Steph.
[7] Γν. H. Steph., γ M.

BOOK LV

The following is contained in the Fifty-fifth of Dio's *Rome*:—

How Drusus died (chaps. 1, 2).
How the Precinct of Livia was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Campus Agrippae was dedicated (chap. 8).
How the Diribitorium was dedicated (chap. 8).
How Tiberius retired to Rhodes (chap. 9).
How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated (lacking).
How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated (chap. 10).
How Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar died (chap. 10 a).
How Augustus adopted Tiberius (chap. 13).
How Livia urged Augustus to rule more mercifully (chaps. 14–21).
About the legions and how men were appointed to manage the military funds (chaps. 23–25).
How the night-watchmen were appointed (chap. 26).
How Tiberius fought against the Dalmatians and Pannonians (chaps. 29–34).

Duration of time, seventeen years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

B.C.
9 Nero Claudius Ti. F. Drusus, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispinus.
8 C. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Asinius C. F. Gallus.
7 Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Nero (II), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
6 Decimus Laelius Decimi F. Balbus, C. Antistius C. F. Vetus.

Πίσων Borghesi, πίσων τὸ δεύτερον M.
[8] ὑπ. supplied by Bs.

Αὔγουστος τὸ ιβ'
Λ.[1] Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Σύλλας ὕπ.
Γ. Καλουίσιος Γ. υἱ. Σαβῖνος
Λ. Πασσιῆνος . . . υἱ. Ῥοῦφος[1] ὕπ.
Λ.[2] Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος
Μ. Οὐαλέριος Μ. υἱ. Μεσσάλας Μεσσαλῖνος[3] ὕπ.
Αὔγουστος τὸ ιγ'
Μ. Πλαύτιος Μ. υἱ. Σιλουανός ὕπ.
Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Γν. υἱ Λεντοῦλος
Λ. Καλπούρνιος Γν. υἱ. Πίσων ὕπ.
Γ. Καῖσαρ Αὐγούστου[4] υἱ.
Λ. Αἰμίλιος Λ. υἱ. Παῦλος ὕπ.
Π. Οὐινίκιος[5] Μ.[6] υἱ.
Π. Ἀλφῆνος[7] Π. υἱ. Οὗαρος ὕπ.[8]
Λ. Αἴλιος[9] Λ. υἱ. Λαμίας[10]
Μ. Σερουίλιος[11] Μ. υἱ. ὕπ.
Σέξτος Αἴλιος[12] Κ. υἱ. Κάτος
Γ. Σέντιος Γ. υἱ. Σατουρνῖνος[13] ὕπ.
Λ. Οὐαλέριος Ποτίτου υἱ. Μεσσάλας Οὐόλαισος[14]
Γν. Κορνήλιος Λ. υἱ. Κίννας Μάγνος ὕπ.[15]
Μ. Αἰμίλιος Λ. υἱ. Λέπιδος
Λ. Ἀρρούντιος Λ. υἱ. ὕπ.
Αὖλ.[16] Λικίνιος Αὔλ. υἱ.[17] Νέρουας[18] Σιλιανός[19]
Κ. Καικίλιος[20] Κ. υἱ.[21] Μέτελλος Κρητικός ὕπ.[22]
Μ. Φούριος[23] Μ.[24] υἱ. Κάμιλλος
Σέξ. Νώνιος[25] Γ. υἱ.[26] Κυϊντιλιανός ὕπ.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπί τε τοῦ Ἰούλλου[27] Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο,[28] τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὁ Δροῦσος μετὰ Τίτου Κρισπίνου

[1] Λ. Κορνήλιος . . . υἱ. Ῥοῦφος supplied by Xyl. and Bs.
[2] Λ. supplied by R. Steph.
[3] Μεσσαλῖνος Mommsen, ἢ Μεσσαλῖνος M.
[4] Αὐγούστου Reim., αὔγουστος τοῦ M.
[5] Οὐινίκιος Bs., οὐινίκιος ἢ μινούκιος M. [6] M. Xyl., ν. M.
[7] Ἀλφῆνος Bs., ἀλφῆνος ἢ ἀλφήνιος M.
[8] Οὗαρος ὕπ. Bs., ὑπ οὔαρος M.
[9] Λ. Αἴλιος R. Steph., λαίλιος M. [10] Λαμίας R. Steph., ταμίας M.
[11] Σερουίλιος R. Steph., σορουίλιος M. [12] Αἴλιος Bs., αἰμίλιος M.
[13] Σατουρνῖνος Leuncl., σατορνῖνος M.
[14] Οὐόλαισος Xyl., οὐάλαισος M.
[15] ὕπ. supplied by Bs. [16] Αὖλ. Bs., αὖλος M.

BOOK LV

B.C.	
5	Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla.
4	C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienus . . . F. Rufus.
3	L. Cornelius L. F. Lentulus, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Messallinus.
2	Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus.
1	Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
A.D.	
1	C. Caesar Augusti F., L. Aemilius L. F. Paulus.
2	P. Vinicius M. F., P. Alfenus P. F. Varus.
3	L. Aelius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M. F.
4	Sextus Aelius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus.
5	L. Valerius Potiti F. Messalla Volesus, Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cinna Magnus.
6	M. Aemilius L. F. Lepidus, L. Arruntius L. F.
7	A. Licinius A. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Metellus Creticus.
8	M. Furius M.[1] F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius C. F. Quintilianus.

THE events related happened in the consulship of Iullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the following year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus, B.C. 9

[1] Or P., if we follow the form given in the *Fasti Capitolini*.

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[17] Αὖλ. υἱ. supplied by Bs. [18] Νέρουας R. Steph., οὐερνας M.
[19] Σιλιανός Bs., σιλανός M. [20] Κ. Καικίλιος Xyl., κ' καιλιος M.
[21] Κ. υἱ. supplied by Bs. [22] ὑπ. supplied by Bs.
[23] Φούριος Xyl., φούρνιος M.
[24] Instead of Μ. υἱ. Bs. would read Π. υἱ. See *Fasti Capitol.*
[25] Νώνιος H. Steph., νώννιος M.
[26] Α. υἱ. Leuncl., γ. υἱ. M. [27] Ἰούλλου Bs., ἰουλίου M.
[28] The words ταῦτα . . . ἐγένετο appear at the end of liv. in VM; Bk. placed here. V breaks off at this point; cf. pref. to vol. i. p. xxv.

ὑπάτευσε, καὶ αὐτῷ σημεῖα οὐκ ἀγαθὰ συνηνέχθη· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ κεραυνοῖς, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ναοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν τε συννάων αὐτοῦ κα-
2 κωθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφρόντισέ τι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὴν τῶν Χάττων ἐσέβαλε καὶ προῆλθε μέχρι τῆς Σουηβίας, τήν τε ἐν ποσὶν οὐκ ἀταλαιπώρως χειρούμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμιγνύντας οἱ οὐκ ἀναιμωτὶ κρατῶν. κἀντεῦθεν πρός τε τὴν Χερουσκίδα[1] μετέστη, καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον[2] διαβὰς ἤλασε
3 μέχρι τοῦ Ἀλβίου, πάντα πορθῶν. ἐκεῖνον γάρ (ῥεῖ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Οὐανδαλικῶν ὀρῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν τὸν προσάρκτιον πολλῷ μεγέθει ἐκδίδωσιν) ἐπεχείρησε μὲν περαιωθῆναι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ, ἀλλὰ τρόπαια στήσας ἀνεχώρησε· γυνὴ γάρ τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα αὐτῷ ἔφη "ποῖ δῆτα ἐπείγῃ, Δροῦσε ἀκόρεστε; οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα ἰδεῖν πέπρωται. ἀλλ' ἄπιθι· καὶ γάρ σοι καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ
4 ἤδη πάρεστι." θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν τό τινα φωνὴν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου τοιαύτην τῳ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχω· παραχρῆμα γὰρ ἀπέβη, σπουδῇ τε ὑποστρέψαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ νόσῳ τινί, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐλθεῖν, τελευτή-
5 σαντος. καί μοι τεκμηριοῖ τὸ λεχθὲν ὅτι καὶ λύκοι περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ περινοστοῦντες ὠρύοντο, καὶ νεανίσκοι δύο διὰ μέσου τοῦ ταφρεύματος διιππεύοντες ὤφθησαν, θρῆνός τέ τις γυναικεῖος ἠκούσθη, καὶ ἀστέρων διαδρομαὶ ἐγένοντο.

[1] Χερουσκίδα Bk., χειρουσκίαν M.
[2] Οὐίσουργον Reim., οὐσίσουγρον M.

and omens occurred that were anything but favourable to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and by thunderbolts, among them many temples; even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the gods worshipped with him was injured. Drusus, however, paid no heed to any of these things, but invaded the country of the Chatti and advanced as far as that of the Suebi, conquering with difficulty the territory traversed and defeating the forces that attacked him only after considerable bloodshed. From there he proceeded to the country of the Cherusci, and crossing the Visurgis, advanced as far as the Albis,[1] pillaging everything on his way. The Albis rises in the Vandalic Mountains,[2] and empties, a mighty river, into the northern ocean. Drusus undertook to cross this river, but failing in the attempt, set up trophies and withdrew. For a woman of superhuman size met him and said: "Whither, pray, art thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt look upon all these lands. But depart; for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life is already at hand." It is indeed marvellous that such a voice should have come to any man from the Deity, yet I cannot discredit the tale; for Drusus immediately departed, and as he was returning in haste, died on the way of some disease before reaching the Rhine. And I find confirmation of the story in these incidents: wolves were prowling about the camp and howling just before his death; two youths were seen riding through the midst of the camp; a sound as of women lamenting was heard; and there were shooting stars in the sky. So much for these events.

B.C. 9

[1] The Elbe. [2] The Riesengebirge.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχε, προπυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὔγουστος ὅτι νοσεῖ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πόρρω), τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὃς ἔμπνουν τε αὐτὸν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μέχρι τοῦ χειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διά τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν πρώτων
2 βαστάσας. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προτεθέντος διπλοῦς ὁ ἐπιτάφιος ἐλέχθη· ὅ τε γὰρ Τιβέριος ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσε, καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐν τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ· ἐξεστράτευτο γάρ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ ὅσιον μὴ οὐ τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου
3 ἔσοδον ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔς τε τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, τῶν τε ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα ἀκριβῶς τελούντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντων, ἠνέχθη, κἀνταῦθα πυρὶ δοθεὶς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μνημεῖον κατετέθη, Γερμανικός τε μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐπονομασθείς, καὶ τιμὰς καὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἁψῖδος κενοταφίου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Ῥήνῳ λαβών.
4 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τῶν τε Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Παννονίων ὑποκινησάντων τι αὖθις ζῶντος ἔτι αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τά τε ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοὺς δ' ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνισε. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ἡ Λιουία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τὰς γυναῖκας εἱστί-

BOOK LV

Augustus, upon learning of Drusus' illness before it was far advanced (for he was not far off), had sent Tiberius to him in haste. Tiberius found him still breathing, and on his death carried the body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to carry it over the first stage of the journey,—as far as the winter quarters of the army,—and after that the foremost men of each city. When the body had been laid in state in the Forum, two funeral orations were delivered: Tiberius pronounced a eulogy there in the Forum, and Augustus pronounced one in the Circus Flaminius. The emperor, of course, had been away on a campaign, and it was not lawful for him to omit the customary rites in honour of his exploits at the time of his entrance inside the pomerium.[1] The body was borne to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those who were of senatorial family;[2] then it was given to the flames and the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre of Augustus. Drusus, together with his sons, received the title of Germanicus, and he was given the further honours of statues, an arch, and a cenotaph on the bank of the Rhine itself.

B.C. 9

Tiberius, while Drusus was yet alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and he had celebrated the equestrian triumph,[3] and had feasted the people, some on the Capitol and the rest in many other places. At the same time Livia, also, with Julia, had given a dinner to the women. And the same

[1] He could not return the customary thanks to the gods at this time because he was in mourning; hence he remained outside the pomerium until his period of mourning should be at an end. [2] Cf. liv. 2, 5. [3] The *ovatio*.

5 ασε. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἡτοιμάζετο· καί γε αἱ ἀνοχαὶ δεύτερον τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ τὰ νικητήρια ἐν ἐκείναις αὐτὸν ἑορτάσαι, γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπώλετο, ἡ δὲ δὴ Λιουία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθίᾳ ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐς
6 τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρὶς[1] τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη. οἷς γὰρ ἂν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἴτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν, μὴ δῷ τοσαυτάκις τεκνῶσαι, τούτων τισὶν ὁ νόμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ τῶν τρὶς[2] γεγεννηκότων δικαιώματα χαρίζεται, ὥστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαιδίας ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας
7 ἆθλα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ εὑρίσκονται, ἵν' ἄν τίς τι αὐτοῖς τελευτῶν καταλίπῃ λαμβάνωσι.

3 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δ' Αὔγουστος τάς τε τῆς γερουσίας ἕδρας ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καί τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑστέριζον, δύο[3] βουλὰς κατὰ μῆνα κυρίας ἀπέδειξεν, ὥστε ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπάναγκες, οὕς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος
2 ἐκάλει, συμφοιτᾶν· καὶ ὅπως γε μηδ' ἄλλη μηδεμία σκῆψις τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχῃ, προσέταξε μήτε δικαστήριον μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι), τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων

[1] τρὶς Leuncl., τε τρὶς M. [2] τρὶς supplied by Xyl.
[3] δύο supplied by Casaubon.

festivities were being prepared for Drusus; even the Feriae were to be held a second time on his account, so that he might celebrate his triumph on that occasion. But his untimely death upset these plans. To Livia statues were voted by way of consoling her and she was enrolled among the mothers of three children. For in certain cases, formerly by act of the senate, but now by the emperor's, the law bestows the privileges which belong to the parents of three children[1] upon men or women to whom Heaven has not granted that number of children. In this way they are not subject to the penalties imposed for childlessness and may receive all but a few of the rewards offered for large families; and not only men but gods also may enjoy these rewards, the object being that, if any one leaves them a bequest at his death, they may receive it.[2] B.C. 9

So much for this matter. As to Augustus, he ordered that the sittings of the senate should be held on fixed days. Previously, it appears, there had been no precise regulation concerning them and it often happened that members failed to attend; he accordingly appointed two regular meetings for each month, so that they were under compulsion to attend,—at least those of them whom the law summoned,—and in order that they might have no other excuse for being absent, he commanded that no court or other meeting which required their attendance should be held at that time. He also fixed by law the number of senators necessary for

[1] See liii. 13, 2 and note.

[2] Certain gods and goddesses (see Ulpian xxii. 6) might legally be named as heirs, but it appears that they had to fulfil the same conditions as the other heirs.

ἀναγκαῖον καθ' ἕκαστον εἶδος αὐτῶν, ὥς γε ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν, διενομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰ ζημιώματα τοῖς μὴ δι' εὔλογόν τινα αἰτίαν τῆς συνεδρείας ἀπολειπομένοις ἐπηύξησεν. 3 *ἐπειδή τε πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀτιμώρητα εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦσθαί τε αὐτοὺς εἰ συχνοὶ τοῦτο ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ πέμπτον λαχόντα ὀφλισκάνειν αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσε. τά τε ὀνόματα συμπάντων τῶν βουλευόντων ἐς λεύκωμα ἀναγράψας ἐξέθηκε· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ' ἔτος τοῦτο ποιεῖται.* 4 *ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς συμφοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκῃ ἔπραξεν· εἰ δ' οὖν ποτε ἐκ συντυχίας τινὸς μὴ συλλεχθεῖεν ὅσους ἡ χρεία ἑκάστοτε ἐκάλει (πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ὁσάκις ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρῇ, ἔν γε*[1] *ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις ἐς πάντα ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν ἀθροιζομένων πλῆθος καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκριβῶς ἐξητάζετο), ἐβουλεύοντο μὲν καὶ ἥ γε γνώμη συνεγράφετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τέλος τι ὡς κεκυρωμένη ἐλάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ αὐκτώριτας ἐγίγνετο, ὅπως φανερὸν τὸ βούλημα αὐτῶν ᾖ.* 5 *τοιοῦτον γάρ τι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου δηλοῖ· ἑλληνίσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθάπαξ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ μὴ νενομισμένῳ ἢ ἡμέρᾳ μὴ καθηκούσῃ, ἢ καὶ ἔξω νομίμου παραγγέλματος, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἠθροίσθησαν, ἢ καὶ ἐναντιωθέντων τινῶν δημάρχων τὸ μὲν δόγμα οὐκ ἠδυνήθη γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ γνώμην σφῶν οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀπο-*

[1] γε Rk., τε M.

passing decrees, according to the several kinds of decrees,—to state only the chief points of the matter; and he increased the fines of those who without good excuse stayed away from the sessions. And since many such offences had regularly gone unpunished owing to the large number of those who were liable to punishment, he commanded that if many were guilty, they should draw lots and one out of every five, according as the lot should fall, should incur the fine. He had the names of all the senators entered on a tablet and posted; and this practice, originating with him, is still observed each year. Such were the measures he took to compel the attendance of the senators; but if on any occasion, as the result of some accident, fewer assembled than the occasion demanded,—and it should be explained that at every session, except when the emperor himself was present, the number of those in attendance was accurately counted, both at that time and later; for practically every matter of business,—the senators would proceed with their deliberations and their decision would be recorded, though it would not go into effect as if regularly passed, but instead, their action was what was termed *auctoritas*, the purpose of which was to make known their will. For such is the general force of this word; to translate it into Greek by a term that will always be applicable is impossible. This same custom prevailed in case they ever assembled in haste at any but the usual place, or on any but the appointed day, or without a legal summons, or if by reason of the opposition of some of the tribunes a decree could not be passed and yet they were unwilling that their opinion should remain unknown;

B.C. 9

κρυφθῆναι, ἐνομίζετο· καὶ αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ κύρωσις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγετο καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις
6 *ἡ τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῖς πάλαι τηρηθὲν ἐξίτηλον τρόπον τινὰ ἤδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἀγανακτήσαντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν γνώμην, καίτοι τῶν δημάρχων προτετιμημένοι, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσέφερον, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔλαβον αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου ἀφῃρέθησαν.*

4 Ταῦτά *τε οὖν καὶ τἆλλα ἃ*[1] *τότε ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον ἐν λευκώμασι γεγραμμένα προέθηκε πρὶν χρηματίσαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς μεθ' ἑνὸς ἑτέρου ἐσελθοῦσιν ἀναγνῶναι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως ἄν τι μὴ ἀρέσῃ αὐτοὺς ἢ καὶ ἕτερόν τι βέλτιον συμβουλεῦσαι δυνηθῶσιν εἴπω-*
2 *σιν. οὕτω γάρ που δημοκρατικὸς ἠξίου εἶναι ὥστε τινὸς τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ποτὲ αὐτῷ συνηγορήματος παρ' αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν φίλων τινά, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ ὤν, συνειπεῖν αὐτῷ κελεῦσαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη "ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὁσάκις ἐπικουρίας χρείαν ἔσχες, οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀντ' ἐμαυτοῦ σοι ἔπεμψα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πανταχοῦ προεκινδύνευσά σου," ἔς τε τὸ δικαστήριον ἐσελθεῖν καὶ συνηγορῆ-*
3 *σαί οἱ. φίλῳ τέ τινι δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη, προεπικοινώσας αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἔσωσε, καὶ τὸν κατήγορον αὐτοῦ οὐχ ὅπως*

[1] ἃ supplied by Rk.

afterwards the resolution would be ratified according to established precedent and would receive the name of a decree.[1] This method, strictly followed for a long period by the men of old time, has in a way already become null and void, as has also the special privilege of the praetors. For they, becoming indignant that they could bring no proposal before the senate, though they outranked the tribunes, received from Augustus the right to do so, but in the course of time were deprived of it.

B.C. 9

These and the other laws which Augustus enacted at this time he had inscribed on tablets and posted in the senate before bringing them up for consideration, and he allowed the senators to enter the chamber in groups of two and read them, so that if any provision did not please them, or if they could advise anything better, they might speak. He was very desirous indeed of being democratic, as one or two incidents will illustrate. Once, when one of those who had campaigned with him asked him for his assistance as advocate, though he at first pretended to be busy and bade one of his friends speak in the man's behalf, yet when the petitioner became angry and said, "But I, whenever you had need of my assistance, did not send some one else to you in place of myself, but personally encountered dangers everywhere in your behalf," the emperor then entered the court-room and pleaded his friend's cause. He also stood by a friend who was defendant in a suit, after having first communicated his purpose to the senate; and he saved his friend, but was so far from being angry with the friend's ac-

[1] It was now a *senatus consultum*, and no longer merely *senatus auctoritas*.

δι' ὀργῆς ἔσχε καίπερ πάνυ πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθυνόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ἄντικρυς[1] ὅτι ἀναγκαία σφίσιν ἡ παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν εἴη. ἄλλους γε μὴν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ μηνυθέντας
4 ἐκόλασε. καὶ ταμίας ἔν τε τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις τισὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας χωρίοις ἄρχειν ἐποίησε· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο.

Τότε μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν
5 τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐσελθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Ἀσίνιός τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τήν τε ἄφιξιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὴν δάφνην ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου παρὰ τὸ
2 νομιζόμενον ἐσήνεγκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑορτὴν ἤγαγε, πολὺ πλεῖον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δρούσου ὀλέθρῳ ἐζημιῶσθαι ἢ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ὠφελῆσθαι νομίζων· οἱ δὲ δὴ ὕπατοι τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ
3 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀλλήλοις συνέβαλον. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Αὔγουστος, αἰτιαθέντων καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων ὡς ἐκ δεκασμοῦ τινος ἀποδεδειγμένων, τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἐξήλεγξεν οὔτ' ἀρχὴν προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι· οὔτε γὰρ κολάσαι τινὰς οὔτ' αὖ συγγνῶναι ἐλεγχθεῖσιν ἠθέλησε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχιῶντας χρήματα πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὥσπερ τι ἐνέχυρον προῄτησεν, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἢ στερηθῆναι

[1] ἄντικρυς is omitted in M, but has been added in the margin by an early corrector who indicates its place as between εἰπὼν and ὅτι.

cuser, though this man had indulged in the utmost frankness in his speech, that later on, when the same man appeared before him, as censor, for a scrutiny of his morals, the emperor acquitted him, saying openly that the other's frankness was necessary for the Romans on account of the baseness of the majority of them. However, he punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him. He also caused quaestors to serve along the coast near the city and in certain other parts of Italy; and this practice was followed for many years. B.C. 9

At the time in question he was unwilling, as I have stated,[1] to enter the city because of Drusus' death; but the next year, when Asinius Gallus and Gaius Marcius were consuls, he made his formal return and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not celebrate any festival in honour of the achievements mentioned, feeling that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained in his victories; but the consuls performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions, among other things exhibiting combats between some of the captives. And later, when both they and the rest of the officials were accused of having secured their election by bribery, Augustus failed to investigate the matter, and furthermore pretended not even to know of it at all; for he was unwilling either to punish any of them or yet to pardon them if they were convicted. In the case of candidates for office, however, he demanded of them in advance of the elections a deposit of money on the understanding that they should forfeit this money in case they resorted to B.C. 8

[1] In chap. 2.

4 τῶν δεδομένων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πάντες ἐπήνεσαν· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν ὂν δοῦλον κατὰ δεσπότου βασανισθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, ὁσάκις ἂν χρεία τοιούτου τινὸς γένηται, τῷ δημοσίῳ αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ ἑαυτῷ πιπράσκεσθαι, ὅπως ὡς ἀλλότριος τοῦ κρινομένου ὢν ἐξετάζηται, οἱ μὲν ᾐτιῶντο, ὅτι ὁ νόμος τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου μεταλλαγῇ καταλύεσθαι ἔμελλεν, οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὅτι πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς συνίσταντο.

6 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν, καίπερ ἀφιείς, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αὖθις ὑπέστη, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑπέμεινεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥῆνον
2 διέβη. φοβηθέντες οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι πλὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων[1] ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο, καὶ οὔτε τότε ἔτυχόν τινος (ὁ γὰρ Αὔγουστος οὐκ ἔφη σφίσιν ἄνευ ἐκείνων σπείσεσθαι) οὔθ' ὕστερον. ἔπεμψαν
3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Σύγαμβροι[2] πρέσβεις, τοσούτου δὲ ἐδέησαν[3] διαπράξασθαί τι ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους πάντας, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους ὄντας, προσαπολέσθαι· ὅ τε γὰρ Αὔγουστος συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δυσανασχετήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς κατεχρήσαντο. κἀκ τούτου χρόνον μέν τινα ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ πολλῷ τὸ πάθημά σφων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταπέ-

[1] Συγάμβρων Bucher, καντάμβρων M, καντάβρων U^a.
[2] Σύγαμβροι Reim., σύγγαμβροι M and U^a.
[3] ἐδέησαν U^a, ἐδεήθησαν M.

any illegal methods. This action of his was approved by all; but it was otherwise with another of his laws. As it was not permitted that a slave should be tortured for evidence against his master, he ordered that, as often as the necessity for such a course should arise, the slave should be sold either to the state or to him, in order that, being now no longer the property of the defendant, he might be examined. Some found fault with this, on the ground that the change of masters would in effect nullify the law; but others declared it to be necessary, because many were taking advantage of the old arrangement and conspiring against both the emperor himself and the magistrates.

B.C. 8

After this, now that his second period of ten years had expired, Augustus once more accepted the supreme power,—though with a show of reluctance,—in spite of his oft-expressed desire to lay it down; and he made a campaign against the Germans. He himself remained behind in Roman territory, while Tiberius crossed the Rhine. Accordingly all the barbarians except the Sugambri, through fear of them, made overtures of peace; but they gained nothing either at this time,—for Augustus refused to conclude a truce with them without the Sugambri,—or, indeed, later. To be sure, the Sugambri also sent envoys, but so far were they from accomplishing anything that all these envoys, who were both many and distinguished, perished into the bargain. For Augustus arrested them and placed them in various cities; and they, being greatly distressed at this, took their own lives. The Sugambri were thereupon quiet for a time, but later they amply requited the Romans for their calamity.

4 δοσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Αὔγουστος τοῦτό τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀργύριον, οὐχ ὡς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβὼν καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ δούς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τότε πρῶτον συνεξεταζόμενόν σφισιν ἔσχον, ἐχαρίσατο.
5 τὸν δ' οὖν Τιβέριον ἐς τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ Δρούσου προαγαγὼν τῇ τε ἐπικλήσει ἐκείνῃ ἐγαύρωσε καὶ ὕπατον αὖθις ἀπέδειξε, γράμματά τε κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν, ἐκθεῖναι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἐπινικίοις
6 ἐσέμνυνεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησε πέμψαι, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἱπποδρομίαν ἀίδιον ἔλαβε. τά τε τοῦ πωμηρίου ὅρια ἐπηύξησε, καὶ τὸν μῆνα[1] τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὔγου-
7 στον ἀντωνόμασε· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τὸν Σεπτέμβριον οὕτως, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο, προσαγορεῦσαι ἐθελησάντων ἐκεῖνον αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν, ὅτι καὶ ὕπατος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐνενικήκει.

7 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἐγαυροῦτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μαικήνου τελευτήσαντος ἤλγησε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώνητο, ὅθεν καίπερ ἱππεῖ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὁσάκις ἀκρατοτέρῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρῆτο· τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ[2] παρέ-
2 λυε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἠπιώτερον μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δέ, δικάζοντί ποτε αὐτῷ προσστάς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι

[1] μῆνα R. Steph., μὲν μῆνα M.
[2] ἀεὶ omitted by M, but added in margin by early corrector.

Besides doing this, Augustus granted money to the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the title of *imperator* and had also conferred it upon Tiberius, but because then for the first time they had Gaius taking part with them in their exercises. So he advanced Tiberius to the position of commander in place of Drusus, and besides distinguishing him with the title of *imperator,* appointed him consul once more, and in accordance with the ancient practice caused him to post up a proclamation before entering upon the office. He also accorded him the distinction of a triumph ; for he did not wish to celebrate one himself, though he accepted the privilege of having his birthday permanently commemorated by Circensian games. He enlarged the pomerium and changed the name of the month called Sextilis to August. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in that month ; but he preferred the other month in which he had first been elected consul and had won many great battles.[1] B.C. 8

All these things filled him with pride ; but he was grieved at the death of Maecenas. He had received many benefits at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the oversight of the city for a long period ; but he had found him of especial service on occasions when his own temper was more or less uncontrollable. For Maecenas would always banish his anger and bring him to a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Maecenas once came upon him as he was holding court, and seeing that he was on the point

[1] Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 31.

πολλοὺς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεστηκότας καὶ ἐγγύς οἱ προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἔγραψεν ἐς γραμματεῖον "ἀνάστηθι ἤδη ποτέ, δήμιε," καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἕτερόν τι ἔχον ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναί τινα καὶ 3 εὐθὺς ἐξαναστῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἠγανάκτει τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπό τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα 4 τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωρθοῦτο. μέγιστον δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς τοῦ Μαικήνου ἀρετῆς δεῖγμα ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τε Αὐγούστῳ, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, ᾠκείωτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἠρέσκετο, πλεῖστόν τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθείς, ὥστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς δοῦναι, οὐκ ἐξεφρόνησεν ἀλλὰ ἐν[1] τῷ τῶν ἱππέων τέλει κατε5 βίω. τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατέλιπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποιήσατο ἄν τέ τινι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναί τι ἐθελήσῃ ἄν τε καὶ μή. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Μαικήνας ἐγένετο, καὶ 6 οὕτω τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐχρῆτο· πρῶτός τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρῶτος σημεῖά τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος

[1] ἐν supplied by Reim. (and so Zon. cod. B).

of condemning many people to death, he attempted to push his way through the bystanders and get near him. When he was unable to do this, he wrote on a tablet, "Pray rise at last, executioner!" Then he threw the tablet into the lap of Augustus, as if it contained some indifferent matter, and the emperor imposed no death sentences, but arose and departed. Indeed, he not only was not displeased at such liberties, but was actually glad of them, because whenever he was led into unseemly outbursts of passion by his natural disposition or by the stress of his affairs, these were corrected by the frank speech of his friends. This also was a supreme proof of Maecenas' excellence, that he not only made himself liked by Augustus, in spite of resisting his impulsiveness, but also pleased everybody else, and though he had the greatest influence with the emperor, so that he bestowed offices and honours upon many men, yet he did not lose his poise, but was content to remain in the equestrian order to the end of his life. Not only for these reasons, then, did Augustus regret his loss exceedingly, but also because Maecenas, although vexed at the emperor's relations with his wife, had left him as his heir and had empowered him to dispose of all his property, with very few reservations, in case he wished to make gifts to any of his friends or otherwise. Such was the character of Maecenas and such was his treatment of Augustus. He was the first to construct a swimming-pool of warm water in the city, and also the first to devise a system of symbols to give speed in writing,[1] and

B.C. 8

[1] This invention is usually ascribed to Tiro, Cicero's freedman; and Aquila is said to have made improvements upon his system.

ἐξεῦρε, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ἀκύλου ἀπελευθέρου συχνοὺς ἐξεδίδαξε.

8 Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πίσωνος ἤρξατο ἔς τε τὸ Ὀκταουίειον[1] τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε διὰ τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου 2 αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Ὁμονόειον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπισκευάσαι προστάξας, ὅπως τό τε ἴδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψῃ, τά τε νικητήρια ἤγαγε καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Λίουιον ὠνομασμένον καθιέρωσε μετὰ τῆς μητρός· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γυναῖ- 3 κας ἰδίᾳ που εἱστίασε. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κινηθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐξωρμήθη· τὴν δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενομένην ὁ Γάιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ Πίσωνι διέθηκε. τό τε πεδίον τὸ Ἀγρίππειον, πλὴν τῆς στοᾶς, καὶ τὸ διριβιτώριον[2] αὐτὸς ὁ 4 Αὔγουστος ἐδημοσίευσε. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ (ἦν δὲ οἶκος μέγιστος τῶν πώποτε μίαν ὀροφὴν σχόντων· νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη αὖθις συστῆναι, ἀχανής ἐστιν) ὅ τε Ἀγρίππας οἰκοδομούμενον κατέλιπε, καὶ τότε συνετελέσθη· ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στοά, ἣν ἡ Πῶλλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ καὶ τοὺς δρόμους 5 διακοσμήσασα ἐποίει, οὐδέπω ἐξείργαστο. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ αἱ[3] ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ὁπλομαχίαι, φαιὰν ἐσθῆτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων,

[1] Ὀκταουίειον Dind., ὀκταούιον M.
[2] διριβιτώριον Bk., δειριβιτώριον M.
[3] αἱ Dind., οἱ M.

he used Aquila, a freedman, to train a considerable number in the system. B.C. 8

Tiberius on the first day of the year in which he was consul with Gnaeus Piso convened the senate in the Curia Octaviae, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livia. He gave a banquet to the senate on the Capitol, and she gave one on her own account to the women somewhere or other. A little later, when there was some disturbance in the province of Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honour of the return of Augustus was directed by Gaius, in place of Tiberius, with the assistance of Piso. The Campus Agrippae and the Diribitorium were made public property by Augustus himself. The Diribitorium was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed;[1] indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put together again. Agrippa had left it still in process of construction, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the Campus, however, which was being built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, who also adorned the race-courses, was not yet finished. Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not B.C. 7

[1] The Diribitorium was used for the sorting (*diribere*) of the ballots used in voting. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xvi. 201 and xxxvi. 102) speaks of its remarkable roof; this was destroyed by fire in 80 A.D. (cf. Dio, lxvi. 24).

καὶ ἑνὸς πρὸς ἕνα καὶ πλειόνων πρὸς ἴσους, ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις διά τε τὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομημάτων κε-
6 καῦσθαι, ἐγένοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς αἴτιον ἐς τοὺς χρεωφείλας ἀνεφέρετο, ὡς καὶ ἐπίτηδες αὐτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ἵν' ἀποκόψωσί τι τῶν χρεῶν, συχνὰ δόξαντες ἐζημιῶσθαι· ἔτυχον δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδενός, οἱ δὲ δὴ στενωποὶ ἐπιμελητῶν τινων ἐκ τοῦ δήμου, οὓς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦ-
7 μεν· καί σφισι καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ ῥαβδούχοις δύο, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσιν, ἡμέραις τισὶ χρῆσθαι ἐδόθη, ἥ τε δουλεία ἡ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις τῶν ἐμπιμπραμένων ἕνεκα συνοῦσα ἐπετράπη, καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τῶν τε στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα[1] μέρη νεμηθεῖσαν, κλήρῳ προσταχθέντων· ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

9 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐπράχθη· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη· τῷ δὲ ὑστέρῳ, ἐν ᾧ Γάιός τε Ἀντίστιος καὶ Λαίλιος Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν, ἰδὼν ὁ Αὔγουστος τόν τε Γάιον καὶ τὸν Λούκιον αὐτούς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἷα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἤθη ζηλοῦντας (οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἁβρότερον διῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρασύνοντο· ἐς γοῦν τὸ θέατρόν ποτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν
2 ὁ Λούκιος ἐσῆλθε) καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ

[1] δεκατέσσαρα R. Steph., δεκατέσσερα M.

only combats between single champions but also between groups of equal numbers on either side; and they were held in the Saepta both as an honour to Agrippa and because many of the structures around the Forum had been burned. The blame for the fire was laid upon the debtor class, who were suspected of having contrived it on purpose, in order that they might have some of their debts remitted when they appeared to have lost heavily. They, for their part, however, gained nothing from the fire; but the streets were put in charge of supervisors, chosen from the people, whom we call street commissioners.[1] These men were allowed to use the official dress and two lictors, but only in the regions under their administration and on certain days, and they were given control over the force of slaves which had previously been associated with the aediles to save buildings that caught fire. The aediles, however, together with the tribunes and praetors, were still assigned by lot to have charge of the whole city, which was divided into fourteen wards. This is also the present arrangement.

B.C. 7

These were all events of that year, for nothing worthy of mention happened in Germany. The next year, in which Gaius Antistius and Laelius Balbus were consuls, Augustus was vexed when he saw that Gaius and Lucius were by no means inclined of their own choice to emulate his own conduct, as became young men who were being reared as members of the imperial house. They not only indulged in too great luxury in their lives, but were also inclined to insolence; for example, Lucius on one occasion entered the theatre unattended. They

B.C. 6

[1] *Curatores viarum.*

πολει, τὰ μὲν γνώμῃ τὰ δὲ θεραπείᾳ, κολακευομένους[1] κἀκ τούτου ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θρυπτομένους[1] (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὕπατον τὸν Γάιον μηδὲ ἐς ἐφήβους πω τελοῦντα προεχειρίσαντο[2]), ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ προσεπηύξατο μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην καιρῶν ἀνάγκην ὁποία ποτὲ[3] αὐτὸν κατέλαβε γενέσθαι, ὥστε τινὰ νεώτερον εἰκοσιετοῦς ὑπα-
3 τεῦσαι. ἐπειδή τε καὶ ὣς ἐνέκειντό οἱ, τότε ἔφη χρῆναί τινα τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην λαμβάνειν, ὅταν μήτε τι αὐτὸς ἁμαρτάνειν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ δήμου σπουδαῖς
4 ἀνθίστασθαι δύνηται. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἱερωσύνην μέν τινα αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν τό τε συνθεᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεστιᾶσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἔδωκε· βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ τρόπον[4] τινὰ[5] μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς σωφρονίσαι, τῷ Τιβερίῳ τήν τε ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς πέντε ἔτη ἔνειμε[6] καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου
5 θάνατον προσέταξε.[7] συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ μάτην προσκροῦσαι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι παρεωρᾶσθαι ἔδοξαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβήθη. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον ὡς καὶ παιδεύσεώς τινος δεόμενος ἐστάλη, μήτ' ἄλλους τινὰς μήτε τὴν θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἵν' ἐκποδών σφισι καὶ τῇ ὄψει καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις γένηται.
6 καὶ τήν τε ὁδὸν ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ'

[1] κολακευομένους, θρυπτομένους Pflugk, κολακευόμενος, θρυπτόμενος M.

[2] προεχειρίσαντο Rk., προεχειρίσατο M.

[3] ποτὲ Xiph., τότε M.

[4] Between τρόπον and (Ἄ)ρει (chap. 10, 2) two folios have been lost in M. The text here given is a combination of the epitomes of Zon., Xiph., and the Excerpta Valesiana (see Introd. to Vol. I. xviii ff.).

were being flattered by everybody in the city, sometimes sincerely and sometimes to curry favour, and consequently were being spoiled more and more. Among other things of this sort, the people had elected Gaius consul before he was as yet of military age. All this, as I have said, vexed Augustus, and he even prayed that no compelling circumstances might arise, as had once occurred in his own case, such as to require that a man less than twenty years old should become consul. When even so the people insisted, he then said that one ought not to receive the office until one was able not only to avoid error oneself but also to resist the ardent impulses of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a priesthood and also the right to attend the meetings of the senate and to behold spectacles and be present at banquets with that body. And wishing in some way to bring Gaius and Lucius to their senses still more sharply, he bestowed upon Tiberius the tribunician power for five years, and assigned to him Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the death of Tigranes. The result was that he needlessly offended not only his grandsons but Tiberius as well; for the former felt they had been slighted, and Tiberius feared their anger. At any rate he was sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed incidentally a bit of instruction; and he did not even take his entire retinue, to say nothing of friends, the object being that Gaius and Lucius should be relieved both of the sight of him and of his doings. He made the journey as a private citizen, though he

B.C. 6

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[5] τινὰ supplied by scribe of L'.

[6] ἔνειμε Xiph., ἀπένειμε Zon.

[7] προσέταξε Rk., προσῆξε Xiph., προσεκλήρωσεν Zon.

ὅσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἄγαλμα πωλῆσαί οἱ ἠνάγκασεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοείῳ ἱδρυθῇ· καὶ ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν οὐδὲν ὀγκηρὸν
7 οὔτε ἔπραττεν οὔτε ἔλεγεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτη αἰτία τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαύτη[1] ἐστί, λόγον δέ τινα ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἰουλίαν, ὅτι μηκέτ' αὐτὴν φέρειν ἐδύνατο, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· κατέλιπε γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν χαλεπῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἀπεδείχθη οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὡς καὶ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἐκβληθῆναι.
8 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε παιδείας ἕνεκα οὔτ' ἀβουλήσας τὰ δεδογμένα ἀπεδήμησε, δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰς διαθήκας αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τότε[2] καὶ λῦσαι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῷ τε Αὐγούστῳ ἀναγνῶναι, ἐγένετο· κατεικάζετο πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο.—Xiph. 100, 18–30, Exc. V. 177 (p. 662 sq.), Zon. 10, 35.

9 Τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἔτει δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Αὔγουστος εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γάϊον ἔταξε καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον ἀπέφηνε τῆς νεότητος ἴλαρχόν τε φυλῆς γενεσθαι ἐπέτρεψε.—Zon. 10, 35.

10 Καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰς τιμὰς ὅσαι τῷ Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδέδοντο ἔλαβεν. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθωθῆναί τινα ἀξιοῦντος καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον πέμψαντος, ἦλθεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐδέοντο σφίσι συνδιεσκέψατο· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ[3] ἥσθησαν ἅπαντες.—Zon. 10, 35.

[1] τοιαύτη cod. Peir., τοιάδε Val.
[2] τότε Val., τὸ τότε cod. Peir. [3] τούτῳ ABC^c, τοῦτο E.

exercised his authority by compelling the Parians to sell him the statue of Vesta, in order that it might be placed in the temple of Concord; and when he reached Rhodes, he refrained from haughty conduct in both word and deed. This is the truest explanation of his journey abroad, though there is also a story that he took this course on account of his wife Julia, because he could no longer endure her; at any rate, she was left behind in Rome. Others said that he was angry at not having been designated as Caesar, and yet others that he was expelled by Augustus himself, on the ground that he was plotting against Augustus' sons. But that his departure was not for the sake of instruction nor because he was displeased at the decrees passed, became plain from many of his subsequent actions, and particularly by his opening his will immediately at that time and reading it to his mother and Augustus. But all possible conjectures were made. B.C. 6

The following year Augustus in the course of his twelfth consulship placed Gaius among the youths of military age, and at the same time introduced him into the senate, declared him *princeps iuventutis,* and permitted him to become commander of a division of cavalry. B.C. 5

And after the lapse of a year Lucius also obtained all the honours that had been granted to his brother Gaius. On one occasion, when the people had gathered together and were asking that certain reforms be instituted and had sent the tribunes to Augustus for this purpose, the emperor came and consulted with them about their demands; and at this all were pleased. B.C. 2

10 Ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου[1] πλῆθος ἀόριστον ὂν ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὥς γέ τινες λέγουσι, καθ' ἕνα ἑξήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔδωκε.—Xiph. 100, 30–101, 1.

1ᵃ Ὡς ἡ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰ καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. l. 6.

1ᵇ Ὡς ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ὢν καθιερώθη.—Index to Bk. LV. l. 7.

2 . . . Ἄρει,[2] ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τούς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκεῖσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους 3 στελλομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τάς τε γνώμας τὰς περὶ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ Ἄρει τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦς 4 ἵστασθαι, ἄν τέ ποτε σημεῖα στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολεμίους ἁλόντα ἀνακομισθῇ, ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανήγυρίν τινα πρὸς τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ἰλαρχούντων[3] ποιεῖσθαι, ἧλόν τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων 5 προσπήγνυσθαι, καὶ τήν τε παράσχεσιν τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιουμένων

[1] σιτοδοτουμένου L', σιτοδουμένου VC.
[2] Ἄρει Morell, ρει M.
[3] ἰλαρχούντων Bk., εἰλαρχούντων M.

BOOK LV

Augustus limited the number of people to be supplied with grain, a number not previously fixed, to two hundred thousand; and, as some say, he distributed a largess of sixty denarii to each man. B.C. 2

[How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated.]

[How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated.]

. . . to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year;[1] that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms;[2] and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take

[1] The *seviri equitum.*

[2] This custom is not elsewhere recorded in the case of the censors. In early times a nail was driven each year into the side of the cella of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the purpose of keeping official count of the years. After the practice had lapsed for a time, it was again revived on the occasion of great disasters or dangers, as a propitiatory rite, and a dictator was sometimes chosen for this sole purpose in the absence of both consuls.

καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐργολαβεῖν ἐξεῖναι, καθάπερ ἐπί τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐνενομοθέτητο.

6 Ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐθείωσε, καίτοι τῷ τε Γαΐῳ καὶ τῷ Λουκίῳ πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱεροῦν ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικῇ τινι ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρωμένοις. καὶ τήν γε ἱπποδρομίαν αὐτοὶ τότε διέθεσαν, τήν τε Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ 7 Ἀγρίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν[1] ἵππευσαν. καὶ λέοντες ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν. ὁπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖά τινα αὐτῆς δείκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐποιήθη· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχοῦσιν 8 ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ τότε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἱππόδρομον ὕδωρ ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι[2] ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα κατεκόπησαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπάτευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἄρξας ἄλλῳ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑπατείας ἔδωκε.

9 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἄρει ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, αὐτῷ δὲ δὴ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἀγών τε ἱερὸς ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει[3] τῇ Καμπανίδι, λόγῳ μὲν ὅτι κακωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀνέλαβεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μόνοι τῶν προσχώρων 10 τρόπον τινὰ ἐζήλουν, ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβῶς ἐδόθη· πρότερον γὰρ ἄλλως

[1] αὐτῶν Morelli, αὐτοῦ M.
[2] κροκόδειλοι R. Steph., κορκόδειλοι M.
[3] Νέᾳ πόλει Bk., νεαπόλει M.

general charge of the temple, just as had been provided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter Capitolinus. B.C. 2

These matters settled, Augustus dedicated this temple of Mars, although he had granted to Gaius and Lucius once for all the right to consecrate all such buildings by virtue of a kind of consular authority that they exercised in the time-honoured manner. And they did, in fact, have the management of the Circensian games on this occasion, while their brother Agrippa took part along with the boys of the first families in the equestrian exercise called "Troy." Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the Circus. There was a gladiatorial combat in the Saepta, and a naval battle between the "Persians" and the "Athenians" was given on the spot where even to-day some relics of it are still pointed out. These, it will be understood, were the names given to the contestants; and the "Athenians" prevailed as of old. Afterwards water was let into the Circus Flaminius and thirty-six crocodiles were there slaughtered. Augustus, however, did not serve as consul during all these days, but after holding office for a short time, gave the title of the consulship to another.

These were the celebrations in honour of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest[1] was voted in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants, alone of the Campanians, tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks. He also was given the strict right to the title of "Father"; for hitherto he had

[1] Cf. li. 1, 2.

ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐπεφημίζετο. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐπάρχους τῶν δορυφόρων τότε πρῶτον Κύιντόν τε Ὀστώριον Σκαπούλαν καὶ Πούπλιον Σάλουιον Ἄπρον ἀπέδειξεν· οὕτω γάρ τοι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγὼ μόνους τῶν ἐπαρχόντων τινός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκνενί-
11 κηκεν, ὀνομάζω. ἐποίησε μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Πυλάδης ὁ ὀρχηστὴς πανήγυρίν τινα, οὐκ αὐτὸς χειρουργήσας ἅτε καὶ ὑπέργηρως ὤν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σκευῇ τῇ ἀρχικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Κύιντος Κρισπῖνος στρατηγός. λέγω δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄνδρες τε ἱππῆς καὶ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθησαν.
12 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐτίθετο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Ἰουλίαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀσελγαίνουσαν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βήματος καὶ κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν ὀψέ ποτε φωράσας ὑπερωργίσθη.
13 κατείκαζε μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν βιοῦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπίστευεν· οἱ γάρ τοι τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σφέτερα γιγνώσκουσι, καὶ οὔτ' αὐτοί τι τοὺς συνόντας ὧν ποιοῦσι λανθάνουσιν οὔτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκρι-
14 βοῦσι. τότε δ' οὖν μαθὼν τὰ πραττόμενα τοσούτῳ θυμῷ ἐχρήσατο ὥστε μηδ' οἴκοι αὐτὰ[1] κατασχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ κοινῶσαι. κἀκ τούτου ἐκείνη μὲν ἐς Πανδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς Καμπανίᾳ[2] νῆσον ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ

[1] αὐτὰ Rk., αὐτὸν M, αὐτὸν cod. Peir. Xiph.
[2] Καμπανίᾳ Xiph., καμπανίαν M.

B.C. 2

merely been addressed by that title without the formality of a decree. Moreover, he now for the first time appointed two prefects over the Praetorians,[1] Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper, —for I, too, apply this name "prefect" solely to them, of all who exercise a similar office, inasmuch as it has won its way into general use. Pylades, the dancer, gave a festival, though he did not perform any of the work himself, since he was very old, but merely wore the insignia of office and provided the cost of the entertainment; and the praetor Quintus Crispinus also gave one. I mention this only because it was on this occasion that knights and women of distinction were brought upon the stage. Of this, however, Augustus took no account; but when he at length discovered that his daughter Julia was so dissolute in her conduct as actually to take part in revels and drinking bouts at night in the Forum and on the very rostra, he became exceedingly angry. He had surmised even before this time that she was not leading a straight life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold positions of command, it appears, are acquainted with everything else better than with their own affairs; and although their own deeds do not escape the knowledge of their associates. They have no precise information regarding what their associates do. In the present instance, when Augustus learned what was going on, he gave way to a rage so violent that he could not keep the matter to himself, but went so far as to communicate it to the senate. As a result Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria,[2] lying off Campania, and her mother Scribonia

[1] *Praefecti praetorio.*

[2] The modern Ventotene, between the Ponza islands and Ischia.

15 Σκριβωνία ἡ μήτηρ ἑκοῦσα συνεξέπλευσε· τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτῇ ὁ μὲν Ἴουλλος[1] ὁ[2] Ἀντώνιος, ὡς καὶ[3] ἐπὶ τῇ μοναρχίᾳ τοῦτο πράξας, ἀπέθανε μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δήμαρχός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦν, οὐ πρότερον πρὶν 16 διάρξαι[4] ἐκρίθη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐκ τούτου[5] καὶ ἄλλων γυναικῶν ἐφ' ὁμοίοις τισὶν αἰτίαν λαβουσῶν οὐ πάσας τὰς δίκας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἀφώρισεν ὥστε τὰ πρὸ ἐκείνου πραχθέντα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς μηδὲν[6] μετριάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήσας ὅτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον[7] ἢ ἐκείνης γεγονέναι ἤθελε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείδετο. ἡ δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ συνεργὸς οὖσα προαπέθανεν ἑκουσία, διόπερ καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος αὐτὴν ἐπήνεσε. —Xiph. 101, 21–32, Exc. V. 178[b], 179 (p. 665).

17 Ὅτι Γάιος τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἴστρῳ εἰρηνικῶς ἐπῄει· πόλεμον γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔν τε ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἄρχειν ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοις προσετάσσοντο.—Exc. V. 180 (p. 665).

18 Τῶν Ἀρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργούντων ἀλγῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αὔγουστος ἠπόρει τί ἂν πράξῃ· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεῦσαι οἷός τε ἦν διὰ γῆρας, ὅ τε Τιβέριος, ὡς εἴρηται, μετέστη ἤδη, ἄλλον δέ τινα πέμψαι

[1] Ἴουλλος Bs., ἰούλιος M. cod. Peir. Xiph.
[2] ὁ supplied by Bk.
[3] Between ὡς καὶ and ἑτέρους (10 a, 1) two folios are lacking in M. [4] διάρξαι Val., διαρπάσαι cod. Peir.

voluntarily accompanied her. Of the men who had enjoyed her favours, Iullus Antonius, on the ground that his conduct had been prompted by designs upon the monarchy, was put to death along with other prominent persons, while the remainder were banished to islands. And since there was a tribune among them, he was not tried until he had completed his term of office. As a result of this affair many other women, too, were accused of similar behaviour, but the emperor would not entertain all the suits; instead, he set a definite date as a limit and forbade all prying into what had occurred previous to that time. For although in the case of his daughter he would show no mercy, remarking that he would rather have been Phoebe's father than hers, he nevertheless was disposed to spare the rest. This Phoebe had been a freedwoman of Julia's and her accomplice, and had voluntarily taken her own life before she could be punished. It was for this that Augustus praised her. B.C. 2

Gaius assumed command of the legions on the Ister with peaceful intent. Indeed, he fought no war, not because no war broke out, but because he was learning to rule in quiet and safety, while the dangerous undertakings were regularly assigned to others. B.C. 1

When the Armenians revolted and the Parthians joined with them, Augustus was distressed and at a loss what to do. For he himself was not fit for campaigning by reason of age, while Tiberius, as has been stated, had already withdrawn, and he did not

[5] ἐκ τούτου Exc. Val., om. Xiph.
[6] μηδὲν Xiph., μὴ cod. Peir.
[7] πατὴρ μᾶλλον Xiph., μᾶλλον πατὴρ cod. Peir.

τῶν δυνατῶν οὐκ ἐτόλμα, ὁ Γάιος δὲ καὶ ὁ Λούκιος νέοι καὶ πραγμάτων ἐτύγχανον ἄπειροι. (ἀνάγκης δ' ἐπικειμένης) τὸν Γάιον εἵλετο, καὶ τήν τε ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνθύπατον καὶ γυναῖκα ἔδωκεν, ἵνα (κἀκ τούτου) τι προσλάβῃ ἀξίωμα, καί οἱ καὶ [1]

19 *συμβούλους προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀφωρμήθη ἐντίμως παρὰ πάντων ὑποδεχόμενος οἷα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔγγονος ἢ καὶ παῖς νομιζόμενος,* [2] *καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς Χίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσε, τὰς ὑποψίας ἀποτριβόμενος· ἐταπείνου τε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑπέπιπτεν οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Γαΐῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ* [3] *τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὖσι· ἀπελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κατωρθωκὼς ἐτρώθη.*—Zon. 10, 36, Xiph. 101, 32–102, 4.

20 *Ὅτι ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαΐου, Φρατάκης* [4] *ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπολογούμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀπαιτῶν· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος Φρατάκῃ* [4] *ἁπλῶς* [5] *(ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως) ἀντεπιστείλας, τό τε ὄνομα τὸ βασιλικὸν καταθέσθαι καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστῆναι προσέταξεν. (ἐφ' ᾧ) δὴ ὁ Πάρθος οὐχ ὅσον οὐ κατέπτηξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντέγραψέν οἱ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως,* [6] *καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλέα βασιλέων ἐκεῖνον δὲ Καίσαρα μόνον ὀνομάσας. ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης εὐθὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δὲ Ἀρταβάζου νόσῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος δῶρά τε*

[1] *οἱ καὶ* AE, *οἱ* BC^c.
[2] *νομιζόμενος* ABC^c, *λογιζόμενος* E.
[3] *καὶ* supplied by Bs.
[4] *Φρατάκης, Φρατάκῃ* Bs., *φρατάκτης, φρακτάκη* (but corrected by first hand to *φρατάκη*) Exc. Urs. cod. A, *φρατάκτου* Xiph. VL', *φρατάκτου* Xiph. C, *φρατάκτη* Xiph. VCL'.

dare send any other influential man; as for Gaius and Lucius, they were young and inexperienced in affairs. Nevertheless, under the stress of necessity, he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority and a wife,—in order that he might also have the increased dignity that attached to a married man,[1]—and appointed advisers to him. Gaius accordingly set out and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, as befitted one who was the emperor's grandson and was even looked upon as his son. Even Tiberius went to Chios and paid court to him, thus endeavouring to clear himself of suspicion; indeed, he humiliated himself and grovelled at the feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates of Gaius. And Gaius, after going to Syria and meeting with no great success, was wounded. B.C. 1

When the barbarians heard of Gaius' expedition, Phrataces sent men to Augustus to explain what had occurred and to demand the return of his brothers on condition of his accepting peace. The emperor sent him a letter in reply, addressed simply to "Phrataces," without the appellation of "king," in which he directed him to lay aside the royal name and to withdraw from Armenia. Thereupon the Parthian, so far from being cowed, wrote back in a generally haughty tone, styling himself "King of Kings" and addressing Augustus simply as "Caesar." Tigranes did not at once send any envoys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell ill and died, he sent gifts to Augustus, in view of the A.D. 1

[1] See note on liii. 13, 2.

[5] ἁπλῶς Xiph., om. Exc. Urs.
[6] ὑπερφρόνως Exc. Urs., ὑπερηφάνως Xiph.

τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξῃρη-
21 μένου οἱ, ἔπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα ἐς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράψας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῦ ᾔτησε. τούτοις τε[1] οὖν ὑπαχθεὶς καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα τὸν Παρθικὸν[2] φοβηθεὶς τά τε δῶρα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν χρηστῶν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.—Exc. U^G 36 (p. 390), Xiph. 102, 4—11.

10a . . . ἑτέρους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπιστρατεύσαντάς σφισιν ἀπεώσαντο, οὐ πρότερόν τε ἐνέδοσαν πρὶν χιλίαρχόν τινα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ τὰς καταδρομὰς αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν, ὥστε ἐπὶ πολὺ μηδένα βουλευτὴν τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων ἄρξαι.

2 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἅμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαινώθη. ὁ γὰρ Δομίτιος πρότερον μέν, ἕως ἔτι τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ἴστρῳ χωρίων ἦρχε, τούς τε Ἑρμουνδούρους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξαναστάντας καὶ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἑτέρας γῆς πλανωμένους ὑπολαβὼν ἐν μέρει τῆς Μαρκομαννίδος κατῴκισε, καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίαν μηδενός οἱ ἐναντιουμένου διαβὰς φιλίαν τε τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις συνέθετο καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ'
3 αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἱδρύσατο. τότε δὲ πρός τε τὸν Ῥῆνον μετελθών, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τινὰς Χερούσκων καταγαγεῖν δι' ἑτέρων ἐθελήσας, ἐδυστύχησε καὶ καταφρονῆσαί σφων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλέον τι τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπράχθη· διὰ γὰρ τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ὑπόγυον ὄντα οὐδεμία αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφὴ τότε ἐγένετο.

[1] τε A (B ? V ?).
[2] τὸν Παρθικὸν Bs., τῶν Πάρθων Urs., τὸν Παρθὸν A (B ? V ?).

fact that his rival had been removed, and though he did not mention the name "king" in his letter, he really did petition Augustus for the kingship. Influenced by these considerations and at the same time fearing the war with the Parthians, the emperor accepted the gifts and bade him go with good hopes to Gaius in Syria. A.D. 1

. . . . others who marched against them from Egypt, and did not yield until a tribune from the pretorian guard was sent against them. This man in the course of time checked their incursions, with the result that for a long period no senator governed the cities in this region.

Coincident with these events there was an outbreak on the part of the Germans. Somewhat earlier Domitius, while still governing the districts along the Ister, had intercepted the Hermunduri, a tribe which for some reason or other had left their own land and were wandering about in quest of another, and he had settled them in a part of the Marcomannian territory; then he had crossed the Albis, meeting with no opposition, had made a friendly alliance with the barbarians on the further side, and had set up an altar to Augustus on the bank of the river. Just now he had transferred his headquarters to the Rhine, and in his desire to secure the return of certain Chĕruscan exiles through the efforts of other persons had met with a reverse and had caused the other barbarians likewise to conceive a contempt for the Romans. This was the extent, however, of his operations that year; for in view of the Parthian war which was impending no attention was paid to the Germans at this time.

4 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὁ γὰρ Φρατάκης τὸν Γάιον ἔν τε τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντα καὶ ὑπατεύοντα ἀκούσας, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα μηδὲ πρότερον εὐνοϊκῶς οἱ ἔχοντα ὑποτοπήσας, προκατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτός τε τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ πέραν θα-
5 λάσσης εἶναι. οἵ γε μὴν Ἀρμένιοι, καίπερ τοῦ τε Τιγράνου ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέντος καὶ τῆς Ἐρατοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσης, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τινὶ Μήδῳ, ὅς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τιριδάτου[1] πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφῖκτο, παρεδίδοντο, ἐπολέμησάν σφισι τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Πούπλιός τε Οὐινίκιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐᾶρος ὑπά-
6 τευσαν. καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἔδρασαν, Ἄδδων δέ τις τὰ Ἀρτάγειρα κατέχων ὑπηγάγετο τὸν Γάιον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάρθου τι ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ φράσων, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν,
κἀκ τούτου πολιορκηθεὶς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχεν.
7 ἁλόντος δ' οὖν ποτε αὐτοῦ τό τε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐχ ὁ Αὔγουστος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἐπέθετο, καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν τότε μὲν ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ υἱὸς παρά τε τοῦ Αὐγού-
8 στου καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλαβεν. ὁ δ' οὖν Γάιος ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἠρρώστησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ἄλλως ὑγιεινὸς ἦν, ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξελέλυτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη. καὶ τέλος ἰδιωτεύειν τε ἠξίου καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ που καταμεῖναι ἤθελεν, ὥστε τὸν Αὔγουστον περιαλγήσαντα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ

[1] Τιριδάτου Dind., τειριδάτου M.

Nevertheless, war did not break out with the Parthians, either. For Phrataces, hearing that Gaius was in Syria, acting as consul, and, furthermore, having suspicions regarding his own people, who had even before this been inclined to be disloyal to him, forestalled action on their part by coming to terms with the Romans, on condition that he himself should renounce Armenia and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea. The Armenians, however, in spite of the fact that Tigranes had perished in a war with barbarians and Erato had resigned her sovereignty, nevertheless went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans along with Tiridates. This was in the following year, when Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. And though they accomplished nothing worthy of note, a certain Addon, who was holding Artagira, induced Gaius to come up close to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some of the Parthian king's secrets, and then wounded him, whereupon he was besieged. He held out for a long time; but when he was at last captured, not only Augustus but Gaius also assumed the title of *imperator*, and Armenia was given by Augustus and the senate first to Ariobarzanes and then upon his death a little later to his son Artabazus. Gaius became ill from his wound, and since he was not robust to begin with and the condition of his health had impaired his mind, this illness blunted his faculties still more. At last he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his desire to remain somewhere in Syria. Augustus, accordingly, grieved at heart, communicated his wish to the senate, and

A.D. 1

A.D. 2

(A.D. 3)

κοινῶσαι καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα
9 πράττειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο προτρέψασθαι. πάντ' οὖν εὐθὺς τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφεὶς ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν ὁλκάδι παρέπλευσε, κἀνταῦθα ἐν Λιμύροις μετήλλαξε. πρὶν δὲ ἢ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ὁ Λούκιος ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ προαπέσβη· πολλαχῇ γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ πεμπόμενος ἠσκεῖτο, καὶ τάς γε τοῦ Γαΐου ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὁσάκις ἂν
10 παρείη, ἀνεγίγνωσκεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίφνης νοσήσας, ὥστε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν Λιουίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου ἀφίκετο, ὑποπτευ-
11 θῆναι. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐμπειρότατος τῆς διὰ τῶν ἄστρων μαντικῆς ὤν, καὶ Θράσυλλον ἄνδρα πάσης ἀστρολογίας διαπεφυκότα ἔχων, πάντα καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πεπρωμένα ἀκριβῶς
2 ἠπίστατο· καὶ λόγον γε ἔχει ὅτι μελλήσας ποτὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸν Θράσυλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπειδὴ μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνενόει συνῄδει, ὤσειν, οὐκέτ' αὐτὸ[1] ἐποίησε σκυθρωπάσαντα αὐτὸν ἰδών, οὔτι γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπερωτηθεὶς διὰ τί συννένοφε, κίνδυνόν τινα ὑποπτεύειν οἱ γενήσεσθαι ἔφη· θαυμάσας γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μέλλησιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς[2] προεῖδεν,[3] φυλάξαι αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἠθέλησεν.—Zon. 10, 36.

3 Οὕτω γάρ που πάντα ἐκεῖνος σαφῶς ᾔδει ὥστε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον τὸ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδῆς παρά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ

[1] αὐτὸ Xiph., αὐτῶι M.
[2] Between ἐπιβουλῆς and Τιβέριον (13, 2) two more folios are lacking in M. [3] προεῖδεν supplied by Bs.

urged him to come at least to Italy and then do as he pleased. So Gaius resigned at once all the duties of his office and took a trading vessel to Lycia, where, at Limyra, he passed away. But even before Gaius' death the spark of life in Lucius had been quenched at Massilia. He, too, was being trained to rule by being despatched on missions to many places, and it was his custom personally to read the letters of Gaius in the senate, whenever he was present. His death was due to a sudden illness. In connexion with both deaths, therefore, suspicion attached to Livia, and particularly because it was just at this time that Tiberius returned to Rome from Rhodes. Tiberius, it seems, was extremely well versed in the art of divination by means of the stars, and had with him Thrasyllus, who was a past-master of all astrology, so that he had full and accurate knowledge of what fate had in store both for him and for Gaius and Lucius. And the story goes that once in Rhodes he was about to push Thrasyllus from the walls, because he was the only one who shared all his own thoughts; but he did not carry out his intention when he observed that Thrasyllus was gloomy,—not, indeed, because of his gloom, but because, when asked why his countenance was overcast, the other replied that he had a premonition that some peril was in store for him. This answer made Tiberius marvel that he could foresee the mere project of the plot, and so he conceived the desire to keep Thrasyllus for his own purposes because of the hopes he entertained.

(A.D. 3)

(A.D. 4)

Thrasyllus had so clear a knowledge of all matters that when he descried, approaching afar off, the ship which was bringing to Tiberius the message from his

παρὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φέρον πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσπλέον, προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἃ ἀγγέλλειν ἔμελλε.[1]

12 Τοῦ δὲ Λουκίου τοῦ τε Γαΐου τὰ σώματα διά τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστης πόλεως πρώτων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αἱ πέλται τά τε δόρατα, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντες χρυσᾶ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνετέθη.—Xiph. 102, 25–103, 3.

2 Δεσπότης[2] δέ ποτε[3] ὁ Αὔγουστος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὀνομασθεὶς οὐχ ὅπως ἀπεῖπε μηδένα τούτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῷ προσρήματι χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ 3 πάνυ διὰ φυλακῆς αὐτὸ ἐποιήσατο. πληρωθείσης δέ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ[4] τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπεδέξατο, πρᾳότερός τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονὼς οὐδενὶ ἔτ' αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἤθελεν.—Xiph. 103, 3–11, Zon. 10, 36.

3a Χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμῶν ἀτόκους τοῖς δεομένοις δανείσας ἐπ' ἔτη τρία, ἐπηνεῖτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Zon. 10, 36.

4 Ἐμπρησμοῦ δέ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διδόντων, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἢ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν δραχμήν. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμὰς 5 δυνάμενον κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὀνομάζω· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δέ τινες, ὧν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τῷ ἀττικίζειν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.—Xiph. 103, 11–18, Zon. 10, 36.

[1] ἔμελλε V, ἤμελλε CL'. [2] δεσπότης VC, καὶ δεσπότης L'.

mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told him in advance what news it would bring. A.D. 2

The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were brought to Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men of each city. And the golden targes and spears which they had received from the knights on entering the class of youths of military age were set up in the senate-house. (A.D. 4)

When Augustus was once called "master" by the people, he not only forbade that any one should use this form of address to him, but also took very good care to enforce his command. And now that his third ten-year period was completed, he accepted the leadership for the fourth time, though ostensibly under compulsion. He had become milder through age and more reluctant to incur the hatred of any of the senators, and hence now wished to offend none of them. A.D. 3

For lending sixty million sesterces for three years without interest to such as needed it he was praised and magnified by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace and many persons offered him large sums of money, he accepted nothing but an aureus from entire communities and a denarius from single individuals. I here use the name aureus, according to the Roman practice, for the coin worth one hundred sesterces. Some of the Greeks, also, whose books we read with the object of acquiring a pure Attic style, have given it this name.

[3] ποτε VC, τότε L'. [4] τότε τὸ CL', τὸ V.

Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὁ Δίων φησὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.—Zon. 10, 36.

Ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημόσιωσε πᾶσαν, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ[1] τοῦ δήμου οἱ γενομένην, εἴτε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἦν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἅμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοίη.

13 Τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἵνα καταγάγῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θᾶσσον ἔφη πῦρ ὕδατι μιχθήσεσθαι ἢ ἐκείνην καταχθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ δῆμος πυρὰ ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν πολλὰ ἐνέβαλε· καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ὥστε ἐς γοῦν τὴν ἤπειρον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομισθῆναι.—Xiph. 103, 19–28.

1a Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὑπό τε γήρως[2] καὶ νόσου κεκμηκὸς ἔχων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκστρατεῦσαι μὴ οἷός τε ὤν, πῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πῇ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀναπεισθεὶς (ἤδη γὰρ αὕτη[3] ἐκ τῆς 2 ὑπερορίας κατήχθη), [Zon. 10, 36]. τὸν[4] Τιβέριον καὶ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐξέπεμψε,[5] τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς δέκα ἔτη δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον[6] ὑποπτεύσας πῃ ἐκφρονήσειν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσῃ τι, τὸν Γερμανικόν οἱ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν καίτοι καὶ 3 αὐτῷ υἱὸν ἔχοντι ἐσεποίησε. κἀκ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσας ὡς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοηθοὺς ἔχων, διαλέξαι τὴν γερουσίαν αὖθις ἠθέλησε, καὶ δέκα

[1] παρὰ L', ἐπὶ τὰ VC.
[2] γήρως E (ω corrected from ου), γήρους ABC[c].
[3] αὕτη BC[c], καὶ αὕτη AE. [4] τὸν supplied by Bs.

Among the Greeks, Dio says, the aureus is exchanged for twenty drachmas.[1] A.D. 3

When Augustus had built his house, he made it all state property, either on account of the contributions made by the people or because he was high priest and wished to live in apartments that were at once private and public.

The people urged Augustus very strongly to restore his daughter from exile, but he answered that fire should sooner mix with water than she should be restored. And the people threw many firebrands into the Tiber; and though at the time they accomplished nothing, yet later on they brought such pressure to bear that she was at least brought from the island to the mainland.

Later, when a German war broke out and Augustus was worn out in body, by reason of old age and illness, and incapable of taking the field, he yielded, partly to the force of circumstances and partly to the persuasions of Julia, who had now been restored from banishment, and not only adopted Tiberius, but also sent him out against the Germans, granting him the tribunician power for ten years. Yet suspecting that he also would lose his poise somehow or other, and fearing that he would begin a rebellion, he made him adopt his nephew Germanicus, though Tiberius had a son of his own. After this he took courage, feeling that he had successors and supporters, and he desired to reorganize the senate once more. So he nominated the ten senators whom he most highly A.D. 4

[1] That is, for the equivalent of eighty, instead of a hundred, sesterces.

[5] ἐξέπεμψε supplied by Xyl.
[6] ἐκεῖνον Xyl., ἐκείνου M. cod. Coisl.

βουλευτὰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα προβαλόμενος[1] *τρεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος εἵλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοὶ οὔτε προκατέγνωσάν σφων ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς δοθείσης, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, οὔτ' ἄκοντες ἀπηλίφησαν.*[2]

4 Τοῦτο *μὲν δὴ δι' ἑτέρων ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἔν τε τῇ* Ἰταλίᾳ *κατοικούντων καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἐποιήσατο· τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρους τούς τε ἔξω τῆς* Ἰταλίας *οἰκοῦντας οὐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δείσας μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι ταραχθέντες.* 5 *καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δόξειεν ὡς τιμητὴς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, δι' ὅπερ εἶπον πρότερον, ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρός τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν* 6 *τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἔκ τε τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ γένους κἀκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέων ἐπένοντο μηδὲν ἐπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα δέ τισι καὶ ἐς* 7 *τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηύξησε. πολλῶν τε πολλοὺς ἀκρίτως*[3] *ἐλευθερούντων, διέταξε τήν τε ἡλικίαν ἣν τόν τε ἐλευθερώσοντά τινα καὶ τὸν ἀφεθησόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειν δεήσοι, καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα οἷς οἵ τε ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθερουμένους καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ δεσπόται σφῶν γενόμενοι χρήσοιντο.*

14 Πράσσοντι *δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐπεβούλευσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ* Γναῖος Κορνήλιος *θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ μεγάλου*

[1] προβαλόμενος H. Steph., προβαλλόμενος M.
[2] ἀπηλίφησαν St., ἀπηλείφησαν M.
[3] ἀκρίτως Casaub., ἀκριβῶς M.

honoured and appointed three of them, selected by lot, to examine the qualifications of senators. There were not many, however, who were affected, either by declaring themselves disqualified when permission was given them to do so, as had been done on the previous occasion,[1] or by having their names erased against their will. A.D. 4

Now Augustus caused others to carry through this business for him; but he himself took a census, but only of the inhabitants of Italy who possessed property worth at least two hundred thousand sesterces, for he did not compel the poorer citizens or those living outside of Italy to be listed, fearing lest if they were disturbed, they would become rebellious. And in order that he might not appear to be acting herein in the capacity of censor, for the reason I mentioned before,[2] he assumed the proconsular power for the purpose of completing the census and performing the purification. Inasmuch, moreover, as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the knights as well were poor through no fault of their own, he made up to most of them the required amount, and in the case of some eighty increased it to one million two hundred thousand sesterces. Since also many were freeing their slaves indiscriminately, he fixed the age which the manumitter and also the slave to be freed by him must have reached and likewise the legal principles which should govern the relations of both citizens in general and the former masters toward sla[illegible] were set free. [illegible]

While he was thus occupied, various men for[illegible] plots against him, notably Gnaeus Cornelius, a son

[1] Cf. lii. 42, 2, and liv. 26, 4. [2] Cf. liv. 1, 5–2, 1.

Πομπηίου ὤν, ὥστε ἐν μεγάλῃ αὐτὸν ἀμηχανίᾳ χρόνον τινὰ γενέσθαι, μήτ' ἀποκτεῖναί σφας, ὅτι οὐδὲν πλέον πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἑώρα οἱ γιγνόμενον, μήτ' ἀπολῦσαι, μὴ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐκ τούτου ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσηται, ἐθέλοντα.
2 ἀποροῦντί τε οὖν αὐτῷ ὅ τι πράξῃ, καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀφροντιστεῖν οὔτ' αὖ νύκτωρ ἀτρεμεῖν δυναμένῳ ἔφη ποτὲ ἡ Λιουία· "τί ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνερ; διὰ τί οὐ καθεύδεις;"

Καὶ ὁ Αὔγουστος· "καὶ τίς ἄν," εἶπεν, "ὦ γύναι, κἂν ἐλάχιστον ἀπομεριμνήσειε τοσούτους τε ἀεὶ ἐχθροὺς ἔχων καὶ συνεχῶς οὕτως ἄλλοτε
3 ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενος; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσοι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αἱ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιουμένων ἀναστέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοὐναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγαθόν τι ἐπειγόμενοι, σπεύδουσι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαι."

4 Ἀκούσασα οὖν τούτων ἡ Λιουία· "τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαί σε," ἔφη, "οὔτε θαυμαστὸν οὔτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ πράσσεις πολλὰ ἅτε τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ λυπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συχνούς. οὐ γάρ που καὶ πᾶσιν οἷόν τε τὸν ἄρχοντά τινων ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν πάνυ ὀρθῶς
5 βασιλεύοντα ἀνάγκη. πολλῷ τε γὰρ πλείους τῶν δίκαιόν τι πραττόντων οἱ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοντές εἰσιν, ὧν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπιμπλάναι· καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετήν τινα ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν οὐ δύνανται

of the daughter of Pompey the Great. Augustus was consequently in great perplexity for some time, since he neither wished to put the plotters to death, inasmuch as he saw that no greater safety would accrue to him by their destruction, nor to let them go, for fear this might induce others to conspire against him. While he was in doubt what to do and was finding it impossible either to be free from apprehension by day or from restlessness by night, Livia one day said to him: "What means this, husband? Why is it that you do not sleep?" A.D. 4

And Augustus answered: "What man, wife, could even for a moment forget his cares, who always has so many enemies and is so constantly the object of plots on the part of one set of men or another? Do you not see how many are attacking both me and our sovereignty? And not even the punishment of those who are brought to justice serves to check them; nay, quite the opposite is the result—those who are left are as eager to accomplish their own destruction also as if they were striving for some honourable thing."

Then Livia, hearing this, said: "That you should be the object of plotting is neither remarkable nor contrary to human nature. For you do a great many things, possessing so large an empire as you do, and naturally cause grief to not a few. A ruler can not, of course, please everybody; nay, it is inevitable that even a king whose rule is altogether upright should make many men his enemies. For those who wish to do wrong are far more numerous than those who do right, and it is impossible to satisfy their desires. Even among such as possess a certain excellence, some covet many great rewards which they

τυχεῖν, ἐπορέγονται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐλαττωθέντες ἄχθονται, καὶ οὕτως ἀμφότεροι τὸν κρα-
6 τοῦντα αἰτιῶνται. ὥστε ἔκ τε τούτων μὴ εἶναι κακοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων οὔτι γε καὶ σοὶ ἀλλὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιωτεύοντα οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἐθελοντὴς κακόν τι, μηδέν γε προπαθών, ἐποίησε· τῆς δὲ δὴ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντες, καὶ οἵ γε ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ ὄντες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ὑποδεε-
7 στέρων, ὀριγνῶνται. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι μὲν ἀδίκων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἥκιστα νοῦν ἐχόντων ποιεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῇ φύσει αὐτῶν καθάπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἔνεστι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πείθοντα οὔτ' ἀναγκάζοντα ἐξελέσθαι τινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε φόβος κρείττων τῶν
8 φύσει πεφυκότων γίγνεται. ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτίας μὴ δυσχέραινε, φυλακὴν δ' ἀκριβῆ καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ποιοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὴν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχωμεν."

15 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος· "ἀλλ' οἶδα μὲν καὶ ἐγώ, ὦ γύναι, ὅτι οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν μεγάλων ἔξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς καθέστηκεν, ἥκιστα
2 δὲ αὐταρχία· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰσόθεοι ἦμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πράγματα[1] καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας εἴχομεν. ἐμὲ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι ταῦθ' οὕτως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἀδύνατον θεραπείαν τινὰ αὐτῶν εὑρεθῆναι."

3 "Ἀλλ' ἐπειδή γέ τινες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν οἷοι

[1] πράγματα Xiph., πρᾶγμα M.

can not obtain, and some chafe because they are less honoured than others; hence both these classes find fault with the ruler. Therefore it is impossible to avoid meeting with mischief, either at the hands of these or, in addition, at the hands of those who attack, not you personally, but the monarchy. For if you were a private citizen, no one would willingly have done you any harm, unless he had previously received some injury; but all men covet the office of ruler and the good things that office affords, and those who already possess some power covet much more than those who are lacking in this respect. It is, indeed, the way of men who are wicked and have very little sense to do so; in fact, it is implanted in their nature, just like any other instinct, and it is impossible either by persuasion or by compulsion to destroy such instincts in some of them; for there is no law and no fear stronger than the instincts implanted by nature. Reflect on this, therefore, and do not be vexed at the shortcomings of the other sort of men, but as for your own person and your sovereignty, keep close guard of them, that we may hold the throne securely, not by the strictness of the punishments you inflict upon individuals, but by the strictness with which you guard it." A.D. 4

To this Augustus replied: "But, wife, I, too, am aware that no high position is ever free from envy and treachery, and least of all a monarchy. Indeed, we should be equals of the gods if we had not troubles and cares and fears beyond all men in private station. But precisely this is what causes my grief,—that this is inevitably so and that no remedy for it can be found."

"Yet," said Livia, "since some men are so con-

πάντως ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλειν," εἶπεν ἡ Λιουία, "ἡμεῖς γε αὐτοὺς φυλαττώμεθα. ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας πολλούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιτεταγμένοι οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ σὲ ὄντες φρουροῦσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ θεραπείαν πολλήν, ὥστε καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἔξω δι' αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν."

4 Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Αὔγουστος· "ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνόντων ἐφθάρησαν, οὐδέν," ἔφη, "δέομαι λέγειν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φιλίους[1] φοβούμεθα. 5 καὶ πολύ γε πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἅτε καὶ ἀεί, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, καὶ γυμνουμένοις σφίσι καὶ καθεύδουσι σιτία τε καὶ ποτὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένα λαμβάνουσι συγγιγνομένων, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους ἔστι τούτους ἀντιτάξαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους αὐτοὺς 6 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλῳ τινὶ συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι. ὥσθ' ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων δεινὸν μὲν τὴν ἐρημίαν δεινὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ φοβερὸν μὲν τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν φοβερωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φύλακας, καὶ χαλεποὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χαλεπωτέρους δὲ τοὺς φίλους εἶναι· φίλους γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντας σφᾶς, 7 κἂν μὴ ὦσι, καλεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ χρηστῶν αὐτῶν τύχοι, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε οὕτω πιστεύσειεν ἂν σφισιν ὥστε καὶ[2] καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀφροντίστῳ καὶ ἀνυπόπτῳ τῇ ψυχῇ προσομιλεῖν. τοῦτό τε οὖν

[1] φιλίους M, φίλους Xiph.

[2] καὶ added (between lines) by corrector in M, om. Xiph. flor.

stituted as to want to do wrong in any event, let us guard against them. We have many soldiers who protect us, some arrayed against foreign foes and others about your person, and also a large retinue, so that by their help we may live in security both at home and abroad." A.D. 4

"I do not need to state," Augustus answered and said, "that many men on many occasions have perished at the hands of their immediate associates. For monarchies have this most serious disadvantage in addition to all the rest, that we have not only our enemies to fear, as have other men, but also our friends. And a far greater number of rulers have been plotted against by such persons than by those who have no connexion with them at all, inasmuch as his friends are with the ruler both day and night, when he takes his exercise, when he sleeps, and when he takes the food and drink which they have prepared. For the ruler labours under this special disadvantage as regards his friends, that, although he can protect himself from his enemies by arraying his friends against them, there is no corresponding ally on whom he may rely to protect him from these very friends. Consequently we rulers find it to be true at all times, that whereas solitude is dreadful, company also is dreadful, that whereas unprotectedness is terrifying, the very men who protect us are most terrifying, and that whereas our enemies are difficult to deal with, our friends are still more difficult. 'Friends,' I say, for friends they must all be called, even if they are not friends. And even if one should find loyal friends, still one could by no means so completely trust them as to associate with them with a sincere, untroubled, and unsuspecting

καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι πάνδεινόν ἐστιν. τὸ γάρ τοι τιμωρεῖσθαί τε καὶ κολάζειν ἀεί τινας ἀναγκάζεσθαι μεγάλην ἀχθηδόνα τοῖς γε ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φέρει."

16 "Ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε λέγεις," ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ Λιουία, "καί σοι γνώμην δοῦναι ἔχω, ἄν γε καὶ προσδέξασθαι αὐτὴν ἐθελήσῃς, καὶ μὴ διαμέμψῃ[1] ὅτι γυνὴ οὖσα τολμῶ σοι συμβουλεῦσαί τι οἷον οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἄλλος οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ φίλων παραινέσειεν, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτό, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ θαρσοῦσιν εἰπεῖν."

2 "Λέγ'," ἦ δ' ὃς ὁ Αὔγουστος, "ὅ τι δή ποτε τοῦτό ἐστιν."

Ἡ οὖν Λιουία "φράσω," ἔφη, "μηδὲν κατοκνήσασα, ἅτε καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου σοι ἔχουσα, καὶ σωζομένου μέν σου καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ μέρος ἄρχουσα, δεινὸν δέ τι παθόντος, ὃ μὴ 3 γένοιτο, συναπολουμένη. εἰ γάρ τοι ἥ τε φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως τι ἁμαρτάνειν τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν πρᾶξαί τι ὡρμημένην ἐπισχεῖν, καὶ ἤδη γε καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά τισιν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν κακίας εἴπω, καὶ πάνυ συχνοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει (καὶ γὰρ γένους αὔχημα καὶ πλούτου φρόνημα τιμῆς τε μέγεθος καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ[2] θράσος 4 ἐξουσίας τε ὄγκος πολλοὺς ἐξοκέλλειν ποιεῖ), καὶ μήτε τὸ γενναῖον δυσγενὲς μήτε τὸ ἀνδρεῖον δειλὸν μήτε τὸ ἔμφρον ἄνουν ἔστι ποιῆσαι (ἀδύνατον γάρ), μήτ' αὖ τὰς περιουσίας τινῶν περικόπτειν

[1] διαμέμψῃ R. Steph., διαπέμψῃ M Xiph.
[2] ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ Wolf, ἐπ' ἀνδρείας M, ἐπ' ἀνδρίαν Xiph.

heart. This situation, then, and the necessity of taking measures to protect ourselves against the other group of plotters, combine to make our position utterly dreadful. For to be always under the necessity of taking vengeance and inflicting punishments is a source of great sorrow, to good men at least."

"You are indeed right," answered Livia, "and I have some advice to give you,—that is, if you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest,—not because they are not aware of it, but because they are not bold enough to speak."

"Speak out," replied Augustus, "whatever it is."

"I will tell you," said Livia, "without hesitation, because I have an equal share in your blessings and your ills, and as long as you are safe I also have my part in reigning, whereas if you come to any harm, (which Heaven forbid!), I shall perish with you. If it indeed be true that man's nature persuades some persons to err under any and all conditions, and that there is no way to curb man's nature when it has once set out upon a course of action, and that even what some men look upon as good conduct (to leave out of consideration the vices of the many) is forthwith an incentive to wrongdoing to very many men (for example, boasting of high birth, pride of wealth, loftiness of honours, arrogance of bravery, conceit of power—all these bring many to grief); if it be true that one can not make ignoble that which is noble, or cowardly that which is brave, or prudent that which is foolish (for that is impossible); if, on the other hand, one ought not to curtail the abundance

ἢ τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινοῦν μηδέν γε πλημμελούντων χρή (ἄδικον γάρ), τό τ' ἀμυνόμενον ἢ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντά τινας καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστί, φέρε μεταβαλώμεθα
5 καί τινος αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γάρ μοι[1] δοκεῖ πολλῷ πλείω φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἢ τινι ὠμότητι κατορθοῦσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμονας οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιλοῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἀμείβεσθαί σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σέβουσιν, ὥστε
6 μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν· τοὺς δ' ἀπαραιτήτοις ὀργαῖς χρωμένους οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἵ τι φοβούμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ προαπόλωνται.

17 "Ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰς μὲν τομὰς καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανιώτατά τισι προσφέρουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς δὲ αἰονήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἠπίοις φαρμάκοις τὰ πλείω μαλθάσσοντες θεραπεύουσι; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθήματά ἐστι, διαφέρειν τι νομίσῃς αὐτὰ ἀλλήλων.
2 πάμπολλα γὰρ ὅμοια τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματοι ὦσιν, καὶ[2] τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει· συστέλλονταί τε γὰρ ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἐξοιδοῦσιν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ, λύπη τέ τινας κολούει καὶ θάρσος ὀγκοῖ, ὥστ' ὀλίγον σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττον αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραπλησίων ἰαμάτων αὐτὰ δεῖσθαι.

[1] γάρ μοι Pflugk, μοι γὰρ M.
[2] ὦσιν καὶ flor., ὦσιν ἃ καὶ M (but ἃ deleted by corrector).

of others or humble their ambitions, when they are guilty of no offence (for that were unjust); if, finally, the policy of defending oneself or even of trying to forestall the attacks of others inevitably leads to vexation and ill repute—if all this is true, come, let us change our policy and spare some of the plotters. For it seems to me that far more wrongs are set right by kindness than by harshness. For those who forgive are not only loved by the objects of their clemency, who will therefore even strive to repay the favour, but are also respected and revered by all the rest, who will therefore not readily venture to harm them; those, on the other hand, who indulge in inexorable resentment are not only hated by those who have something to fear, but are also disliked by all the rest, and are in consequence even plotted against by them in their desire to avoid meeting with destruction first. A.D. 4

"Do you not observe that physicians very rarely resort to surgery and cautery, desiring not to aggravate their patients' maladies, but for the most part seek to soothe diseases by the application of fomentations and the milder drugs? Do not think that, because these ailments are affections of the body while those we have to do with are affections of the soul, there is any difference between them. For also the minds of men, however incorporeal they may be, are subject to a large number of ailments which are comparable to those which visit their bodies. Thus there is the withering of the mind through fear and its swelling through passion; in some cases pain lops it off and arrogance makes it grow with conceit; the disparity, therefore, between mind and body being very slight, they accordingly

λόγος τε γὰρ ἤπιός τῳ λεχθεὶς πᾶν τὸ ἀγριαῖνον αὐτοῦ χαλᾷ, καθάπερ τραχὺς ἕτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον ὀργίζει· καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν πάνυ θρασὺν διαχεῖ, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν πάνυ πρᾷον χαλεπαίνει. αἱ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πράξεις ἀεὶ πάντας, κἂν δικαιόταται ὦσι, παροξύν-
4 ουσιν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεροῦσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεισθεὶς ἄν τις ῥᾷον καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἑκὼν ἢ βιασθεὶς ὑπομείνειεν. καὶ οὕτω γε φύσει τινὶ ἀναγκαίᾳ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν χρῆται, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἐχόντων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ ἀγριωτάτων θωπείαις τέ τισι τιθασεύεται καὶ δελεάσμασι χειροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων λυπήμασί τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἐκταράττεται καὶ παροξύνεται.

18 "Καὶ οὐ λέγω τοῦτο ὅτι δεῖ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἀδικούντων φείδεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἴτην[1] καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ κακοήθη καὶ κακόβουλον καὶ ἀνηκέστῳ τινὶ καὶ διαρκεῖ πονηρίᾳ συνόντα ἐκκόπτειν ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ πάνυ ἀνίατα μέρη
2 τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ὅσοι τι νεότητι ἢ ἀμαθίᾳ ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ καὶ ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ συντυχίᾳ οἱ μὲν ἑκόντες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἁμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς μὲν λόγοις νουθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονίζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον μετρίως πως μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων

[1] μὲν ἴτην Xiph., μενίτην M.

require cures of a similar nature. Gentle words, for example, cause all one's inflamed passion to subside, just as harsh words in another case will stir to wrath even the spirit which has been calmed; and forgiveness granted will melt even the utterly arrogant man, just as punishment will incense even him who is utterly mild. For acts of violence will always in every instance, no matter how just they may be, exasperate, while considerate treatment mollifies. Hence it is that a man will more readily submit to the most terrible hardships—and gladly, too,—if he has been persuaded, than if compulsion has been put upon him. And so true it is that, in following both these courses, man is subject to a compelling law of nature, that even among the irrational animals, which have no intelligence, many of the strongest and fiercest are tamed by petting and subdued by allurements, while many even of the most cowardly and weak are aroused to fury by acts of cruelty which excite terror in them. A.D. 4

"I do not mean by this that we must spare all wrongdoers without distinction, but that we must cut off the headstrong man, the meddlesome, the malicious, the trouble-maker, and the man within whom there is an incurable and persistent depravity, just as we treat the members of the body that are quite beyond all healing. In the case of the rest, however, whose errors, committed wilfully or otherwise, are due to youth or ignorance or misapprehension or some other adventitious circumstance, we should in some cases merely rebuke them with words, in others bring them to their senses by threats, and in still others apply some other form of moderate treatment, just as in the case of slaves, who commit now

ἄλλων ἁμαρτανόντων ἄλλα[1] τοὺς μὲν μείζοσι
3 τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττοσι πάντες κολάζουσιν. ὥστε καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτους ἀκινδύνως μετριάζειν ἔξεστί σοι, τοὺς μὲν φυγῇ τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμίᾳ τοὺς δὲ χρήμασι ζημιοῦντι, ἑτέρους ἐς χωρία ἑτέρους ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατατιθεμένῳ.

"Καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν ὧν ἤλπιζον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν ὧν ἐφίεντο ἐσω-
4 φρονίσθησαν. ἕδραι τε ἄτιμοι καὶ στάσεις ἐπονείδιστοι τό τε προλυπηθῆναι καὶ τὸ προφοβηθῆναι συχνοὺς βελτίους ἐποίησε· καίτοι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἕλοιτ' ἄν τις εὖ τε γεγονὼς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὢν ἢ τοιοῦτό τι παθεῖν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ῥᾴων ἡ τιμωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπωτέρα γίγνοιτ' ἄν, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἐπηγορίαν
5 ἔχειν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν ὑπάρξειεν. ὡς νῦν γε πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ,[2] πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ χρημάτων, ἄλλους ἀνδρείας φόβῳ καὶ μάλα ἄλλους ἀρετῆς τινος φθόνῳ κτείνειν δοκοῦμεν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ῥᾳδίως πιστεύει ὅτι τις ἔν τε ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ ὢν ὑπ' ἰδιώτου τινὸς ἀόπλου[3] ἐπιβουλευθῆναι δύναται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λογοποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ψευδῆ πολλὰ ἀκούομεν καὶ πολλοῖς μάτην ὡς καὶ ἀληθέσι
6 προσέχομεν. τοὺς γάρ τοι διοπτεύοντάς τε καὶ ὠτακουστοῦντας[4] τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοὺς μὲν ἔχθρᾳ

[1] δούλων ἄλλων ἁμαρτανόντων ἄλλα Capps, τἆλλα ἁμαρτανόντων R. Steph., δούλων τιμωρίαις Rk., τἆλλα M Xiph.

[2] πολλοὺς μὲν ὀργῇ supplied by Bs. M shows a lacuna of fourteen to sixteen letters.

[3] ἀόπλου R. Steph., ἀνόπλου M Xiph.

[4] ὠτακουστοῦντας Xiph. and corrector in M, ὠτακουστὰς M.

this and now that offence, all men impose greater penalties upon some and lesser upon others. Hence, so far as these political offenders are concerned, you may employ moderation without danger, punishing some by banishment, others by disfranchisement, still others by a pecuniary fine, and another class you may dispose of by placing some in confinement in the country and others in certain cities. A.D. 4

"Experience has shown that men are brought to their senses even by failing to obtain what they hoped for and by being disappointed in the object of their desires. Many men have been made better by having assigned to them at the spectacles seats which confer no honour, or by being appointed to posts to which disgrace attaches, and also by being offended or frightened in advance; and yet a man of high birth and spirit would sooner die than suffer such humiliation. By such means their plans for vengeance would be made no easier, but rather more difficult, of accomplishment, while we on our part should be able to avoid any reproach and also to live in security. As things are now, people think that we kill many through resentment, many through lust for their money, others through fear of their bravery and others actually through jealousy of their virtues. For no one finds it easy to believe that a ruler who possesses so great authority and power can be the object of plotting on the part of an unarmed person in private station, but some invent the motives I have mentioned, and still others assert that many false accusations come to our ears and that we give heed to many idle rumours as if they were true. Spies, they say, and eavesdroppers get hold of such rumours, and then—actuated sometimes

τοὺς δὲ ὀργῇ, ἄλλους ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν λαβόντας, ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων μὴ λαβόντας, πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ σκευωρεῖσθαί φασιν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τι δεινὸν ἔπραξάν τινες ἢ καὶ ποιήσειν μέλλουσι λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐφθέγξατο τοιόνδε τι, ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐσιώπησεν, ἄλλος ἐγέλασεν, ἄλλος ἐδάκρυσεν.

19 "Μυρία ἂν τοιουτότροπα εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι, ἃ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀληθῆ εἴη, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ προσήκοντά ἐστιν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι παρ' ἐλευθέροις ἀνθρώποις οὔτε σοὶ διαγγέλλεσθαι. λαθόντα μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδὲν ἄν σε βλάψειεν, ἀκουσθέντα δὲ παροξύνειε καὶ ἄκοντα. 2 ὅπερ ἥκιστα χρὴ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντί τινων συμβαίνειν. συχνοὺς γοῦν ἐκ τούτου, τοὺς μὲν ἀκρίτους τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐσκευωρημένῃ τινὶ καταγνώσει δικαστηρίου, ἀδίκως ἀπόλλυσθαι πολλοὶ[1] νομίζουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς μαρτυρίας οὔτε τὰς βασάνους οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ὡς καὶ 3 ἀληθὲς ὂν κατ' αὐτῶν προσίενται. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως, εἰ καὶ μὴ δικαίως ἔστιν ἃ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων γε ὡς[2] εἰπεῖν τῶν οὕτω θανατουμένων θρυλεῖται. καὶ δεῖ σε, ὦ Αὔγουστε, μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ δοκεῖν. ἰδιώτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἀρκεῖ μηδὲν πλημμελεῖν, ἄρχοντι δὲ δὴ προσήκει 4 μηδὲ δόκησίν τινα αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν. ἀνθρώπων γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίων ἡγεμονεύεις· καὶ μόνως ἂν

[1] πολλοὶ added by corrector in M, om. Xiph.
[2] ὡς Xiph. V, om. M Xiph. C.

by enmity and sometimes by resentment, in some cases because they have received money from the foes of their victims, in other cases because they have received none from the victims themselves—concoct many falsehoods, reporting not only that such and such persons have committed some outrage or are intending to commit it, but even that when so-and-so made such and such a remark, so-and-so heard it and was silent, a second person laughed, and a third burst into tears. A.D. 4

"I could cite innumerable instances of such a kind, which, no matter how true they may be, are surely not proper subjects for gentlemen to concern themselves about or to be reported to you. Such rumours, if ignored, would do you no harm, but if listened to, would irritate you even against your will; and that is a thing by all means to be avoided, especially in one who rules over others. It is generally believed, at any rate, that many men are unjustly put to death as the result of such a feeling, some without a trial and others by a prearranged conviction in court; for the people will not admit that the testimony given or the statements made under torture or any evidence of that nature is true or suffices for the condemnation of the victims. This is the sort of talk that does, in fact, go the rounds, even though it is sometimes unjust, in the case of practically all who are put to death by action of the courts. And you, Augustus, ought not only to avoid unjust action, but even the suspicion of it; for though it is sufficient for a person in private station not to be guilty of wrongdoing, yet it behooves a ruler to incur not even the suspicion of wrongdoing. You are ruling over human beings, not wild

οὕτως εὐνοεῖν σοι αὐτοὺς ἀληθῶς ποιήσειας, ἂν πανταχόθεν σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως πείσῃς ὅτι μήτε ἑκών τινα μήτε ἄκων ἀδικήσεις.[1] φοβεῖσθαι μὲν γάρ τινα ἀναγκασθῆναί τις δύναται,
5 φιλεῖν δὲ πεισθῆναι ὀφείλει. πείθεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτός τε εὖ πάθῃ καὶ ἑτέρους εὐεργετουμένους ἴδῃ. ὁ δ' ὑποτοπήσας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολωλέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μή ποτέ τι ὅμοιον πάθῃ καὶ μισεῖν τὸν δράσαντα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδ'
6 ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχειν, ἀλυσιτελέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀδικήσαντάς σφας ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε καταφρονῶνται μήτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτῶνται, τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας τοῖς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπεξιέναι χρῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἰδίᾳ τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν· μήτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονήσεως μήτ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀδικηθῆναί σφας δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

20 "Ὥστε ἔγωγε ταῦτά τε ἀκούουσα καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπουσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειπεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι ἀποκτιννύναι.
2 αἵ τε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπί τε τῇ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίᾳ καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων βλάπτωνται, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τι λυπῶνται·

[1] ἀδικήσεις flor., ἀδικήσῃς M, ἀδικησείας ἂν Xiph.

beasts, and the only way you can make them truly well disposed toward you is by convincing them, by every means and on every occasion consistently, that you will wrong no one, either purposely or unwittingly. A man can be compelled to fear another, but he ought to be persuaded to love him; and he is persuaded not only by the good treatment he himself receives, but also by the benefits he sees conferred on others. The man, however, who suspects that a certain person has been put to death unjustly both fears that he may some day meet a like fate and is compelled to hate the one who is responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one's subjects, quite apart from its being deplorable in general, is also exceedingly unprofitable. For most people feel that, although all other men must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else become objects of contempt and so be oppressed, yet rulers ought to prosecute only those who wrong the state, tolerating those who are supposed to be committing offences against them privately; rulers, they reason, can not themselves be harmed either by contempt or by direct attack, inasmuch as there are many instrumentalities which protect them from both. A.D. 4

"I, therefore, when I hear such considerations advanced and turn my thoughts to them, am inclined to go so far as to urge you to give up altogether the inflicting of the death penalty in any case for reasons of this kind. For the office of ruler has been established for the preservation of the governed, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign peoples, and not for a moment that they may be harmed by the rulers themselves;

καὶ εὐκλεέστατόν ἐστιν οὐ τὸ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πάντας, ἂν οἷόν τε ᾖ,[1]
3 σώζειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νόμοις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις καὶ νουθεσίαις δεῖ, ὅπως σωφρονῶσι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τηρεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν, ἵνα κἂν ἀδικεῖν ἐθελήσωσι μὴ δυνηθῶσιν· ἂν δὲ δὴ νοσήσῃ τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὸ καὶ
4 ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς φθαρῇ. τό τε γὰρ φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἁμαρτήματα καὶ πάνυ μεγάλης καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργον ἐστίν· ἄν τέ τις πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κολάζῃ, λήσει τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων
5 ἀπολέσας. ὅθεν καὶ διὰ ταῦτά σοι γνώμην δίδωμι θανάτῳ μὲν μηδένα τῶν τοιούτων τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἑτέρως δέ πως αὐτούς, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν δρᾶσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τί γὰρ ἂν ἀδικήσειέ τις ἐς νῆσον κατακλεισθείς, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τέ τινι, οὐχ ὅπως ἄνευ πλήθους οἰκετῶν ἢ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὤν, ἄν γε καὶ τούτου
6 δεήσῃ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγύς που ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἢ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀλλότριόν τι ἦν, ὥστε τινὰ αὐτῶν διαδράντα πρὸς ἐκείνους κακόν τι ἡμᾶς ἐργάσασθαι, πόλεις τέ τινες ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐχυραὶ καὶ τείχη καὶ ὅπλα ἔχουσαι ὑπῆρχον, ὥστε τινὰ καταλαβόντα αὐτὰς φοβερὸν
7 ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, ἕτερος ἂν ἦν λόγος· ἀόπλων δὲ δὴ πάντων τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀτειχίστων ὡς πρὸς πόλε-

[1] ᾖ R. Steph., ἦν M.

and the greatest glory is gained, not by putting A.D. 4 many citizens to death, but by being in a position to save them all, if that be possible. We must educate the citizens by means of laws and benefits and admonitions, in order that they may be right-minded, and furthermore, we must watch over them and guard them, in order that, even if they wish to do wrong, they may not be able to do so; and if there is any ailment among them, we must find some way to cure it and correct it, in order that the ailing member may not be utterly destroyed. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task demanding at once great prudence and great power; but if any one is going to punish them all without distinction as they deserve, before he knows it he will have destroyed the majority of mankind. Hence and for these reasons I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty upon any man for such offences, but should rather bring them to their senses in some other way, so that they will not in future commit any crime. What wrong-doing, indeed, could a man indulge in who is shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only deprived of a throng of servants and a supply of money, but also under guard, in case this, too, is necessary? Of course, if the enemy were anywhere near here or if some part of our sea belonged to a foreign power, so that one or another of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and armed forces, so that if a man seized them, he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But in fact all the places here are unarmed and without walls that

μον ὄντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθὲς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων (πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ θάλασσα πολλὴ δὲ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ὄρη καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσδιαβά-
8 *τους ἔχουσα, διὰ μέσου ἐστί), τί ἄν τις φοβηθείη τὸν δεῖνα ἢ τὸν δεῖνα, γυμνούς, ἰδιωτεύοντας, ἐνταῦθά που ἐν μέσῃ τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ὄντας καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν σῶν ὅπλων κατακεκλειμένους*[1]*; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν ἐννοῆσαί τινα τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὔτ' ἄν, εἰ*[2] *καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανείη τις, δύνασθαί γέ τι πρᾶξαι νομίζω.*

21 *"Πεῖραν οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιησώμεθα. τάχα γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλοιντο*[3] *καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμείνους ποιήσειαν· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ ὁ* Κορνήλιος *καὶ εὐγενὴς καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστι, δεῖ δέ που καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπίνως*
2 *ἐκλογίζεσθαι. οὐ πάντα τοι τὸ ξίφος διαπράττεται (μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἂν*[4] *ἀγαθόν, εἰ σωφρονίζειν τέ τινας καὶ πείθειν ἢ καὶ καταναγκάζειν φιλεῖν τινὰ ἀληθῶς ἐδύνατο), ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμά τινος φθείρειεν ἄν, τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ψυχὰς ἀλλοτριώσειεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι τιμωρηθῶσι, προσφιλέστεροί τινι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ φοβηθῶσιν,*
3 *ἐχθίους γίγνονται. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, οἱ δὲ δὴ συγγνώμης τινὸς τυχόντες καὶ μετανοοῦσιν, αἰσχυνόμενοι αὖθίς τι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀδικῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνθυπουργοῦσιν, ἐλπίζοντες πλείω ἀντ' εὖ πείσεσθαι·*[5] *ὑφ' οὗ γὰρ ἄν τις ἀδικηθέντος τι σωθῇ, τοῦτον εὖ παθόντα οὐδὲν ὅ τι*

[1] κατακεκλειμένους Dind., κατακεκλεισμένους M Xiph.
[2] εἰ supplied by Pflugk.
[3] μεταβάλοιντο Xiph., μεταβάλλοιντο M.
[4] ἂν added by corrector of M (in margin), om. Xiph. flor.

would be of any value in war, and our enemies are separated from them by an immense distance; much sea and much land, including mountains and rivers hard to cross, lie between them and us. Why, then, should one fear this man or that, defenceless men in private station, here in the middle of your empire and hemmed in by your armed forces? For my part, I do not believe that any one could conceive any such plot as I have mentioned, or that the veriest madman could accomplish anything by it.

A.D. 4

"Let us make the experiment, therefore, beginning with these very men. Perhaps they may not only be reformed themselves, but also make others better; for you see that Cornelius is both of good birth and famous, and we ought, I presume, to take human nature into account in reasoning out such matters also. The sword, surely, can not accomplish everything for you,—it would indeed be a great boon if it could bring men to their senses and persuade them or even compel them to love a ruler with genuine affection,—but instead, while it will destroy the body of one man, it will alienate the minds of the rest, For people do not become more attached to any one because of the vengeance they see meted out to others, but they beome more hostile because of their fears. So much for that side; but as for those who are treated in a forgiving spirit, they not only repent, because they are ashamed to wrong their benefactors again, but also repay them with many services, hoping to receive still further kindnesses; for when a man has been spared by one who has been wronged, he believes that his rescuer, if fairly treated, will go

[5] ἀντ' εὖ πείσεσθαι Dind., ἀντευπείσεσθαι Rk., ἀνθυποίσεσθαι M Xiph.

4 *οὐκ εὐεργετήσειν ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται. πείσθητι οὖν μοι, φίλτατε, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ.*[1] *οὕτω μὲν γὰρ καὶ τἆλλα τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα ἀνάγκῃ πεποιηκέναι δόξεις· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πόλιν τηλικαύτην ἐκ δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν ἄγοντα ἀναιμωτὶ μεταστῆσαι· ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένῃς, καὶ ἐκεῖνα γνώμῃ δεδρακέναι νομισθήσῃ."*

22 Ταῦτα τῆς Λιουίας εἰπούσης ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐπείσθη τε αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφῆκε μὲν πάντας τοὺς ὑπαιτίους λόγοις τισὶ νουθετήσας, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κορνήλιον καὶ 2 ὕπατον ἀπέδειξε.[2] κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως ᾠκειώσατο ὥστε μηδένα ἔτ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μήτ' ὄντως ἐπιβουλεῦσαι μήτε δόξαι· ἡ γὰρ δὴ Λιουία αἰτιωτάτη τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ Κορνηλίῳ γενομένη ἤμελλεν αὐτὴ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Αὐγούστου λήψεσθαι.

3 Τότε δ' οὖν ἐπί τε τοῦ Κορνηλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων σεισμοί τε ἐξαίσιοι συνέβησαν, καὶ ὁ Τίβερις τήν τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε καὶ πλωτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, τοῦ τε ἡλίου τι ἐκλιπὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ λιμὸς συνη- 4 νέχθη. κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὅ τε Ἀγρίππας ἐς ἐφήβους, μηδενὸς τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τυχών, ἐσεγράφη· καὶ τὰς ἱπποδρομίας χωρὶς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ χωρὶς δὲ οἱ ἱππῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ 5 πλήθους εἶδον, ὃ καὶ νῦν γίγνεται. ἐπειδή τε οὐ ῥᾳδίως οἱ πάνυ εὐγενεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς τὴν τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερατείαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, ἐνομοθετήθη καὶ ἐξ

[1] μεταβαλοῦ Xiph., μεταβάλλου M.
[2] ἀπέδειξε M Xiph., προσαπέδειξεν Zon.

to any lengths in his benefactions. Heed me, therefore, dearest, and change your course; if you do, all your other acts that have caused displeasure will be thought to have been dictated by necessity,—indeed, it is impossible for a man to guide so great a city from democracy to monarchy and make the change without bloodshed,—but if you continue in your old policy, you will be thought to have done these unpleasant things deliberately." A.D. 4

Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all the accused with some words of admonition; and he even appointed Cornelius consul. As a result of this course he so conciliated both him and the other persons so treated that neither they nor any one of the rest thereafter either actually plotted against him or was suspected of doing so. It was rather Livia herself, who was chiefly responsible for saving the life of Cornelius, that was to be charged with plotting the death of Augustus.

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Valerius Messalla, violent earthquakes occurred and the Tiber carried away the bridge and made the city navigable for seven days; there was also a partial eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the youths of military age, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brothers. The senators witnessed the Circensian games separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is the case to-day also. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters to be priestesses of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might like- A.D. 5

ἀπελευθέρων γεγεννημένας ἱερᾶσθαι.[1] καὶ ὁ μὲν κλῆρος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πλείους ἠμφεσβήτησαν,[2] ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, ὅσοι γε ἵππευον, ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀπεδείχθη.

23 Χαλεπῶς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄθλων σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐχόντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὰν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὰν 2 εἴκοσι στρατεύσωνται, δίδοσθαι. τρία δὲ δὴ τότε καὶ εἴκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἢ ὥς γε ἕτεροι λέγουσι πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἐτρέφετο. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνα διαμένει, τό τε δεύτερον τὸ Αὐγούστειον[3] τὸ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμάζον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τό τε ἐν Φοινίκῃ τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν, 3 τό τε ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τὸ Αὐγούστειον·[3] τέταρτον Σκυθικὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ, πέμπτον Μακεδονικὸν ἐν Δακίᾳ, ἕκτα δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητόρων, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸ σιδηροῦν, τέτακται· καὶ οἱ ἕβδομοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, οἳ[4] καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὠνομάδαται, οἵ τε[5] ὄγδοοι Αὐγούστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες· 4 καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἑκάτεροι,[6] οἵ τε ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω οἱ δίδυμοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ· τό τε ἑνδέκατον τὸ

[1] ἱερᾶσθαι R. Steph., ἱερῶσθαι M.
[2] ἠμφεσβήτησαν Bs., ἀμφεσβήτησαν M (but in margin γρ. ἠμφισβήτησαν).
[3] Αὐγούστειον Xiph., αὐγούστιοι M (and similarly just below).

wise become priestesses. Many vied for the honour, A.D. 5 and so they drew lots in the senate in the presence of their fathers, so far as these were knights; however, no priestess was appointed from this class.

The soldiers were sorely displeased at the paltry character of the rewards given them for the wars which had been waged at this time and none of them consented to bear arms for longer than the regular period of his service. It was therefore voted that twenty thousand sesterces should be given to members of the pretorian guard when they had served sixteen years, and twelve thousand to the other soldiers when they had served twenty years. Twenty-three, or, as others say, twenty-five, legions of citizen soldiers were being supported at this time.[1] At present only nineteen of them still exist, as follows: the Second (Augusta), with its winter quarters in Upper Britain; the three Thirds—the Gallica in Phoenicia, the Cyrenaica in Arabia, and the Augusta in Numidia; the Fourth (Scythica) in Syria; the Fifth (Macedonica) in Dacia; the two Sixths, of which the one (Victrix) is stationed in Lower Britain, the other (Ferrata) in Judaea; the Seventh (generally called Claudia[2]) in Upper Moesia; the Eighth (Augusta) in Upper Germany; the two Tenths in upper Pannonia (Gemina) and in Judaea; the Eleventh (Claudia) in

[1] The confusion is due to the fact that after the defeat of Varus there were but twenty-three legions left (out of twenty-six); but Augustus later increased the number to twenty-five.

[2] Cf. lx. 15, 4.

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[4] οἱ R. Steph., εἰ M Xiph.

[5] οἵ τε Xiph., οἱ δὲ M.

[6] δέκατοι ἑκάτεροι Reim., δεκάτεροι M, δέκατοι Xiph.

ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ κάτω, τὸ Κλαυδίειον· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐπεκλήθη, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μὴ ἀντε-
5 πολέμησε· καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τό τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Δακίᾳ τὸ δίδυμον, καὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ ἄνω τὸ δίδυμον, τό τε πεντεκαιδέ-
6 κατον τὸ Ἀπολλώνειον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ· καὶ οἱ εἰκοστοὶ οἱ καὶ Οὐαλερίειοι καὶ νικήτορες ὠνομασμένοι καὶ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντες· οὕστινας ὁ Αὔγουστος,[1] ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, μετὰ τῶν τήν τε τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ[2] εἰκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἐχόντων καὶ ἐν[3] τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω χειμαζόντων, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μήθ' ὑφ' ἁπάντων Οὐαλερίειοι ἐπεκλήθησαν μήτε νῦν ἔτι τῇ προσηγορίᾳ ταύτῃ χρῶνται,
7 παραλαβὼν ἐτήρησε. ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν Αὐγουστείων στρατοπέδων σώζεται· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ τὰ μὲν παντελῶς διελύθη, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶν ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀνεμίχθη, ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ δίδυμα ὠνομασμένα νενόμισται.

24 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐς τὸν περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόγον προήχθην, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὥς που πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέχθη, φράσω, ἵν' ἑνὶ χωρίῳ πάντα γεγραμμένα ῥᾳδίως
2 τὸν βουλόμενόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκῃ. ὅ τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ[4] καὶ Ἰταλικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ κάτω Μυσίᾳ χειμάζον, καὶ ὁ

[1] ὁ Αὔγουστος Bk., αὐτοὺς M.
[2] δευτέρου καὶ supplied by Mommsen.
[3] ἐν supplied by Xyl.
[4] πρῶτον τὸ Bs., πρῶτόν τε M.

Lower Moesia (for two legions were thus named after Claudius because they had not fought against him in the rebellion of Camillus [1]); the Twelfth (Fulminata) in Cappadocia; the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia; the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia; the Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia; the Twentieth (called both Valeria and Victrix) in Upper Britain. These latter, I believe, were the troops which Augustus took over and retained, along with those called the Twenty-second who are quartered in Germany,[2] —and this in spite of the fact that they were by no means called Valerians by all and do not use that name any longer. These are the legions that still remain out of those of Augustus; of the rest, some were disbanded altogether, and others were merged with various legions by Augustus himself and by other emperors, in consequence of which such legions have come to bear the name Gemina.

A.D. 5

Now that I have once been led into giving an account of the legions, I shall speak of the other legions also which exist to-day and tell of their enlistment by the emperors subsequent to Augustus, my purpose being that, if any one desires to learn about them, the statement of all the facts in a single portion of my book may provide him easily with the information. Nero organized the First Legion, called the Italica, which has its winter quarters in

[1] Cf. lx. 15, 4.

[2] Dio is in error here; the Twenty-second (Primigenia) was organized by Claudius and therefore should be in the list of later legions given in chap. 24.

Γάλβας τό τε πρῶτον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ
3 Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἕβδομον τὸ δίδυμον τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέταξαν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς τό τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐπικουρικὸν τὸ ἐν Παννονίᾳ τῇ κάτω καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, τό τε ἑκκαιδέκατον τὸ Φλαουίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ, Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον τὸ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ τῇ κάτω, Τραϊανὸς τὸ δεύτερον τὸ Αἰγύ-
4 πτιον καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν τὸ Γερμανικόν, ἃ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμασεν, Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ Μᾶρκος τό τε δεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρίκῳ καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν Ῥαιτίᾳ, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικὰ κέκληται, Σεουῆρος τὰ Παρθικά, τό τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ[1] ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου τὸ δεύτερον τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

5 Νῦν μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα τείχη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατευομένων ἔξω τοῦ τε ἀστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἔστι, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ταῦτά τε, εἴτ' οὖν τρία εἴτε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντα, ἐτρέφετο, καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ναυτῶν ὁσαδήποτε ἦν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ
6 ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν· οἵ τε σωματοφύλακες μύριοι ὄντες καὶ δεκαχῇ τεταγμένοι, καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ ἑξακισχίλιοί τε ὄντες καὶ τετραχῇ νενεμημένοι·
7 ξένοι τε ἱππῆς ἐπίλεκτοι, οἷς τὸ τῶν Βατάουων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα,
8 ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἱππεύειν εἰσί, κεῖται· οὐ μέντοι ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακλήτων, εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἤρξατο μὲν νομίζειν ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους τῷ πατρὶ

[1] τὰ Bk., τὸ M.

Lower Moesia; Galba the First (Adiutrix), with quarters in Lower Pannonia, and the Seventh (Gemina), in Spain; Vespasian the Second (Adiutrix), in Lower Pannonia, the Fourth (Flavia), in Upper Moesia, and the Sixteenth (Flavia), in Syria; Domitian the First (Minervia), in Lower Germany; Trajan the Second (Aegyptia) and the Thirtieth (Germanica), both of which he also named after himself;[1] Marcus Antoninus the Second, in Noricum, and the Third, in Rhaetia, both of which are called Italica; and Severus the Parthicae—the First and Third, quartered in Mesopotamia, and the Second, quartered in Italy. A.D. 5

This is at present the number of the legions of regularly enrolled troops, exclusive of the city cohorts and the pretorian guard; but at that time, in the days of Augustus, those I have mentioned were being maintained, whether the number is twenty-three or twenty-five, and there were also allied forces of infantry, cavalry, and sailors, whatever their numbers may have been (for I can not state the exact figures). Then there were the body-guards, ten thousand in number and organized in ten divisions, and the watchmen of the city, six thousand in number and organized in four divisions; and there were also picked foreign horsemen, who were given the name of Batavians, after the island of Batavia in the Rhine, inasmuch as the Batavians are excellent horsemen. I can not, however, give their exact number any more than I can that of the *Evocati*.[2] These last-named Augustus began to make a practice of employing from the time when he called again

[1] The Second was called Traiana and the Thirtieth Ulpia.
[2] That is, the "Recalled." Cf. xlv. 12, 3.

πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δέ· καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν σύστημα ἴδιον, ῥάβδους φέροντες ὥσπερ οἱ ἑκατόνταρχοι.

9 Δι' οὖν ταῦτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνώμην ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινὰ διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείνων[1] ἀποδειχθῆναι, ὅπως μηδενὸς ἔξωθεν μηδὲν λυπουμένου ἀφθόνως ἐκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὰ γέρα λαμβάνωσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐζητεῖτο, ἐπειδή τε μηδεὶς ἀγορανομῆσαι ἑκὼν ἤθελεν, ἠναγκάσθησαν ἔκ τε τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων κλήρῳ τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι, 25 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπί τε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἀρρουντίου ὑπάτων, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων τισὶν εὑρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ὅτι 2 καὶ ἐζητεῖτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Αὔγουστος χρήματα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμιεῖον, ὃ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ῥαβδούχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ὑπηρεσίᾳ τῇ προσηκούσῃ χρω- 3 μένοις. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο· νῦν γὰρ καὶ αἱροῦνται πρὸς τοῦ ἀεὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ χωρὶς ῥαβδούχων περιίασιν. αὐτός τε οὖν συνεσήνεγκέ τινα, καὶ τοῦτο κατ' ἔτος πράξειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δή-

[1] ἀείνων Dind., ἀεινον M.

into service against Antony the troops who had served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps, and carry rods, like the centurions. A.D. 5

Now Augustus lacked funds for all these troops, and therefore he introduced a proposal in the senate that revenues in sufficient amount and continuing from year to year should be set aside, in order that the soldiers might receive without stint from the taxes levied their maintenance and bonuses without any outside source being put to annoyance. The means for such a fund were accordingly sought. Now when no one showed a willingness to become aedile, some men from the ranks of the ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes were compelled by lot to take the office—a thing which happened on many other occasions.[1] After this, in the consulship of Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when no revenues for the military fund were being discovered that suited anybody, but absolutely everybody was vexed because such an attempt was even being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of Tiberius placed money in the treasury which he called the military treasury,[2] and commanded that three of the ex-praetors, to be chosen by lot, should administer it for three years, employing two lictors apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This method was followed with the successive incumbents of the office for many years; but at present they are chosen by the emperor and they go about without lictors. Now Augustus made a contribution himself toward the fund and promised to do so annually, and he also A.D. 6

[1] Cf. xlix. 16, 2; liii. 2, 2; liv. 11, 1.
[2] *Aerarium militare.*

μων τε τινῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἐδέξατο· παρὰ γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καίπερ συχνῶν ἐθελοντί, ὥς γε ἔλεγον, 4 *ἐπιδιδόντων τι, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν. ὡς δ' οὖν ταῦτα τε ἐλάχιστα πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων ἦν καὶ ἀθανάτου τινὸς εὐπορίας ἐδεῖτο, προσέταξε τοῖς βουλευταῖς ζητῆσαι πόρους ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ τούτους ἐς βιβλία γράψαντας δοῦναί οἱ διασκέψασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπενόει τινά, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς* 5 *πείσῃ ὃν ἐβούλετο ἑλέσθαι. ἀμέλει ἄλλων ἄλλα ἐσηγησαμένων ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδὲν*[1] *ἐδοκίμασε, τὴν δ' εἰκοστὴν τῶν τε κλήρων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς ἂν οἱ τελευτῶντές τισι πλὴν τῶν πάνυ συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήτων καταλείπωσι, κατεστήσατο, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος* 6 *τοῦτο γεγραμμένον εὑρών· ἐσῆκτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε, καταλυθὲν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖθις τότε ἐπανήχθη. τὰς μὲν οὖν προσόδους οὕτως ἐπηύξησε, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπατευκότων, οὓς ὁ κλῆρος ἀπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν συνέστειλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παντάπασι διέγραψε.*

26 Ταῦτά *τε οὖν τοὺς* Ῥωμαίους *ἐλύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρός, ὥσθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὤνια ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους ἐξωσθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τὸν* Αὔγου*στον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ δικῶν ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς βου-* 2 *λευταῖς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γ' ἂν μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδί-*

[1] *οὐδὲν* Reim., *οὐδένα* M.

accepted voluntary contributions from kings and certain communities; but he took nothing from private citizens, although a considerable number made offers of their own free will, as they at least alleged. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the amount being spent and there was need of some permanent supply, he ordered each one of the senators to seek out sources of revenue, each independently of the others, to write them in books, and give them to him to consider. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but as the most certain means of persuading them to choose the plan he preferred. At all events, when different men had proposed different schemes, he approved none of them, but established the tax of five per cent. on the inheritances and bequests which should be left by people at their death to any except very near relatives or very poor persons, representing that he had found this tax set down in Caesar's memoranda, It was, in fact, a method which had been introduced once before, but had been abolished later, and was now revived. In this way, then, he increased the revenues; as for the expenditures, he employed three ex-consuls, chosen by lot, by whose help he reduced some of them and altogether abolished others.

A.D. 6

This was not the only source of trouble to the Romans; for there was also a severe famine. In consequence of this, the gladiators, and the slaves who were for sale, were banished to a distance of one hundred miles, Augustus and the other officials dismissed the greater part of their retinues, a recess of the courts was taken, and senators were permitted to leave the city and to proceed wherever they pleased. And in order that their absence might not

ζηται, κύρια πάντα τὰ γιγνωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπατευκότες ἐπί τε τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρτου κατέστησαν, ὥστε τακτὸν ἑκάστῳ
3 *πιπράσκεσθαι. ἐπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Αὔγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἕτερον ὅσον ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανον· ὡς δ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνό σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν, οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γενέθλια δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἑστιαθῆναι εἴασεν.*

4 *Ἐπειδή τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τε ἐξελευθέρους ἑπταχῇ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱππέα αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, ὡς καὶ δι'*
5 *ὀλίγου σφᾶς διαλύσων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο· καταμαθὼν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτην τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν οὖσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτούς. καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες οὗτοι ἴδιόν τινα τρόπον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχη τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσιν.*

27 *Ὁ δ' οὖν ὅμιλος, οἷα ὑπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολωλόσι κεκακωμένος, ἤσχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ φανερῶς νεωτεροποιὰ*[1] *διελάλουν, πλείω δὲ δὴ*
2 *βιβλία νύκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλέγετο μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς Πουπλίου τινὸς Ῥούφου γίγνεσθαι, ὑπωπτεύετο δὲ ἐς ἄλλους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ*

[1] *νεωτεροποιὰ* Leuncl., *νεωτεροποιαὶ* (corrected from *νεωτερωποιίαι*) M.

prevent decrees from being passed, a ruling was made that all decisions reached by those in attendance at any meeting should be valid. Moreover, ex-consuls were appointed to have oversight over the grain and bread supplies, so that only a fixed quantity should be sold to each person. Augustus, to be sure, gave free of cost to those who were receiving doles of corn as much again in every case as they were already getting; but when even that did not suffice for their needs, he forbade even the holding of public banquets on his birthday. A.D. 6

When many parts of the city were at this time destroyed by fire, he organized a company of freedmen, in seven divisions, to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight in command over them, expecting to disband them in a short time. He did not do so, however; for he found by experience that the aid they gave was most valuable and necessary, and so retained them. These night-watchmen exist to the present day, as a special corps, one might say, recruited no longer from the freedmen only, but from the other classes as well. They have barracks in the city and draw pay from the public treasury.

Now the masses, distressed by the famine and the tax and the losses sustained in the fire, were ill at ease, and they not only openly discussed numerous plans for a revolution, but also posted at night even more numerous bulletins. Word was given out that all this had been planned and managed by one Publius[1] Rufus, but suspicion was directed to others;

[1] The same man, evidently, who is called Plautius Rufus by Suetonius (*Aug.* 19); his whole name may have been Publius Plautius Rufus.

Ῥοῦφος οὔτε ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι αὐτῶν οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἐδύνατο, ἕτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι καταχρώ-
3 μενοι καινοτομεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζήτησίς τε αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη καὶ μήνυτρα προετέθη· μηνύσεις τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐταράττετο, μέχρις οὗ ἥ τε σιτοδεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ πρός τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν υἱέων αὐτοῦ,
4 ἐγένοντο. τοῦτό τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμῃ παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσκόρειον[1] ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γένος ἐκποίησιν ὀνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέ-
5 γραψε. τά τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἅμα διῴκει, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὁπότε παράσχοι, συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα, τὸ μέν τι πραγμάτων τινῶν ἕνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον φοβούμενος μὴ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ προτιμήσῃ.

6 Ταῦτά τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἄρχων μεσούσης που τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμίᾳ[2] καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, ὃν πρεσβευτήν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μὲν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικῆσαι προσετάχθη. ὅ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῖνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβών, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις

[1] Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον M.
[2] ταμίᾳ Bk., ταμίειαι M.

for as Rufus could neither have devised nor accomplished any of these things, it was believed that others, making use of his name, were planning a revolution. Therefore an investigation of the affair was voted for and rewards for information were announced. Information began to be offered, and this also contributed to the commotion in the city. This lasted until the scarcity of grain was at an end and gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero, his sons. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name,—calling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus,—but also that of Drusus. Tiberius, it should be explained, continued to carry on the wars, and at the same time visited the city repeatedly whenever the opportunity offered; this was partly, to be sure, on account of various business, but chiefly because he was afraid that Augustus might take advantage of his absence to show preference to somebody else. A.D. 6

These were the events in the city that year. In Achaia the governor died in the middle of his term and instructions were given to his quaestor and to his assessor (whom, as I have stated,[1] we call envoy) for the former to administer the province as far as the Isthmus and the other the remainder. Herod[2] of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the

[1] Cf. liii. 14, 6.

[2] Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who used the name Herod on his coinage.

ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη.

28 Κἀν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο. καὶ γὰρ λῃσταὶ συχνὰ κατέτρεχον, ὥστε τὴν Σαρδὼ μηδ'[1] ἄρχοντα βουλευτὴν ἔτεσί τισι σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ 2 στρατιάρχαις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι· καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέριζον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἱρετούς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἄρξαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς[2] αὐτοῖς προσετάττετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξάξω·[3] πολλά τε γὰρ ὡς ἑκάστοις καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν[4] 3 λεπτολογηθέντα ὠφελήσειε. τά γε μὴν μνήμης τινὸς ἄξια κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, ἐρῶ.

Ἴσαυροί τε γὰρ ἐκ λῃστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὗ κατεδαμάσθησαν· καὶ Γαίτουλοι[5] τῷ τε Ἰούβᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἅμα ἀπαξιοῦντες μὴ οὐ 4 καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τήν τε πρόσχωρον ἐπόρθησαν καὶ συχνοὺς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντάς σφισιν ἀπέκτειναν, τό τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπηυξήθησαν ὥστε Κορνήλιον Κόσσον τὸν κατεργασάμενόν σφας τιμάς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπω- 5 νυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι

[1] μηδ' Bk., μητ' M.
[2] τοῖς Reim., ἐν τοῖς M.
[3] ἐπεξάξω Reim., ἐπεξήξω M.
[4] οὐδὲν ἂν Pflugk, οὐδένα M.
[5] Γαίτουλοι (Γαιτοῦλοι) R. Steph., γετοῦλοι M.

Alps and his portion of the domain was confiscated to the state. A.D. 6

During this same period many wars also took place. Pirates overran a good many districts, so that Sardinia had no senator as governor for some years, but was in charge of soldiers with knights as commanders. Not a few cities rebelled, with the result that for two years the same men held office in the provinces which belonged to the people and were appointed[1] instead of being chosen by lot; of course the provinces which belonged to Caesar were, in any case, assigned to the same men for a longer period. But I shall not go into all these matters minutely, for many things not worthy of record happened in individual instances and their recital in detail would serve no useful purpose. I shall give simply the events worthy of some mention and very briefly at that, except in the case of those of greatest importance.

The Isaurians began with marauding expeditions, but were led on into all the horrors of war, until they were utterly subdued. The Gaetulians, also, were discontented with their king, Juba, and scorning the thought that they, too, should be ruled over by the Romans, rose against him. They ravaged the neighbouring territory, slew many even of the Romans who made a campaign against them, and, in fine, gained so great headway that Cornelius Cossus, who subjugated them, received triumphal honours and also a title from them.[2] While these events were occurring, expeditions against the Germans also were being conducted by various leaders,

[1] By Augustus, naturally.
[2] Gaetulicus.

τινές, ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ μέχρι γε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Οὐισούργου,[1] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίου, προεχώρησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιομνημόνευτόν τι τότε γε ἐπράχθη, 6 καίτοι καὶ αὐτοκράτορος μὴ ὅτι τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κληθέντος, καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους Γαΐου Σεντίου τοῦ τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντος λαβόντος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ μόνον ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτούς, ἐσπεί- 7 σαντο. αἴτια δὲ τοῦ καίπερ παρασπονδήσασί σφισι δι' ὀλίγου αὖθις τὴν εἰρήνην δοθῆναι τά τε τῶν Δελματῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, μειζόνως τε ταραχθέντα καὶ ὀξείας ἐπιστροφῆς δεηθέντα, ἐγένετο.

29 Ταῖς γὰρ ἐσφοραῖς τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Δελμάται βαρυνόμενοι τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἄκοντες ἡσύχαζον· ὡς δ' ὅ τε Τιβέριος ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς το δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσαλῖνος ὁ τότε καὶ τῆς Δελματίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας ἄρχων αὐτός τε σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἐστάλη καὶ τὸ πολὺ 2 τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεξήγαγε, καί τινα καὶ σφεῖς δύναμιν πέμψαι κελευσθέντες συνῆλθόν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν σφῶν ἀνθοῦσαν εἶδον, οὐκέτι διεμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνάγοντος αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα Βάτωνός τινος Δησιδιάτου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἔσφηλαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ τούτου 3 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσαπέστησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ Βρεῦκοι Παννονικὸν ἔθνος, Βάτωνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερον προστησάμενοι, ἐπί τε τὸ Σίρμιον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίους ὥρμησαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνο

[1] Οὐισούργου Reim., σούγρου M.

especially Tiberius. He advanced first to the river Visurgis and later as far as the Albis, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished at this time, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was called *imperator* because of the campaign, and Gaius Sentius, the governor of Germany, received triumphal honours, inasmuch as the Germans, through their fear of the Romans, made a truce, not merely once, but twice. The reason that peace was granted them a second time, in spite of their having broken their truce so soon, was that the Dalmatians and Pannonians were in a state of great disturbance and required sharp attention.

A.D. 6

The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidiatian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success. Next the Breucians, a Pannonian tribe, put another Bato at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town. They did

μὲν οὐκ ἐξεῖλον (αἰσθόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Καικίνας[1] *Σεουῆρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας ἄρχων ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταχέων περὶ τὸν Δράουον ποταμὸν οὖσι καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν), ἀναμαχέσεσθαι*[2] *δέ πῃ διὰ βραχέος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ἐλπίσαντες πρὸς παράκλησιν συμμάχων ἐτρά-*
4 *ποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνίστων ὅσους ἐδύναντο, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Δελμάτης ἐπὶ Σάλωνα στρατεύσας αὐτὸς μὲν λίθῳ χαλεπῶς πληγεὶς οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἑτέρους δέ τινας πέμψας πάντα τὰ παραθαλάσσια μέχρι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐλυμήνατο, καί τινι ἐνταῦθα μάχῃ*[3] *δι᾿ αὐτῶν τοὺς προσμίξαντάς σφισι Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ προηττηθείς,*[4]
30 *ἀντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦθ᾿ ὁ Τιβέριος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, ἔκ τε τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τὸν Μεσσαλῖνον προπέμψας αὐτὸς τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ*
2 *ἐφείπετο. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ὁ Βάτων ἀπήντησε τῷ Μεσσαλίνῳ, καίπερ μηδέπω καλῶς ἔχων, καὶ ἐπικρατέστερος αὐτοῦ ἐν παρατάξει γενόμενος ἔπειτ᾿ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐνικήθη. κἀκ τούτου πρός τε τὸν Βάτωνα τὸν Βρεῦκον ἦλθε, καὶ κοινωσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὄρος*
3 *τι Ἀλμὰν κατέλαβε· κἀνταῦθα πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Ῥυμητάλκου τοῦ Θρᾳκός, προπεμφθέντος ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, βραχείᾳ τινὶ μάχῃ ἡττήθησαν, πρὸς δ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσχυρῶς ἀντ-*
4 *έσχον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεουήρου ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν διά τε τοὺς Δακοὺς καὶ διὰ τοὺς*

[1] Καικίνας R. Steph., καὶ κίννας M.
[2] ἀναμαχέσεσθαι Dind., ἀναμαχέσασθαι M.

not capture the place, however, for Caecina Severus, the governor of the neighbouring province of Moesia, marched rapidly against them, when he heard of their uprising, and joining battle with them near the river Dravus,[1] vanquished them; but hoping in some way to renew the struggle soon, since many of the Romans also had fallen, they turned their attention to summoning their allies and were getting together as many as they could. Meanwhile the Dalmatian Bato marched upon Salonae, where he was badly wounded by a stone missile and so accomplished nothing himself; but he sent out some others, who wrought havoc along the whole sea-coast as far as Apollonia, and at that point, in spite of having been first defeated, won a battle in turn against the Romans who engaged them. Now when Tiberius learned of this, fearing that they might invade Italy, he returned from Germany, sending Messallinus ahead and following himself with most of his army. But Bato learned of their approach, and although not yet well, went to meet Messallinus; and though he proved stronger than Messallinus in open conflict, he was afterward defeated by an ambuscade. Thereupon he went to Bato, the Breucian, and making common cause with him in the war, occupied a mountain named Alma. Here they were defeated by Rhoemetalces, the Thracian, who had been sent ahead against them by Severus, but resisted Severus himself vigorously. Later, when Severus withdrew to Moesia, because the Dacians and Sarmatians were

A.D. 6

[1] The Drave.

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[2] τινι . . . μάχῃ Oddey, τινα . . . μάχην M.
[4] προηττηθεὶς Polak, ἡττηθεὶς M.

Σαυρομάτας πορθοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀπάραντος, καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου τοῦ τε Μεσσαλίνου ἐν Σισκίᾳ[1] *ἐγχρονισάντων, τήν τε συμμαχίδα σφῶν ἐπέ-*
5 *δραμον καὶ συχνοὺς προσαπέστησαν. καὶ ἐς μὲν χεῖρας, καίπερ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιάσαντός σφισιν, οὐκ ἦλθον αὐτῷ, ἄλλοσε δὲ καὶ ἄλλοσε μεθιστάμενοι πολλὰ ἐπόρθησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ κούφως ἐσκευασμένοι, ῥᾳδίως ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἐβούλοντο ἐχώρουν. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ὁ χειμὼν ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλείω ἐκακούργησαν· καὶ*
6 *γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν αὖθις ἐνέβαλον. καὶ τούτους μὲν ὅ τε Ῥυμητάλκης καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥασκύπορις μάχῃ κατέλαβον· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τῇ μὲν χώρᾳ σφῶν πορθουμένῃ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπί τε Καικιλίου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Λικινίου*[2] *Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων οὐκ ἐπήμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ἀναφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ὅπῃ παρείκοι καταδρομὰς ἐποιοῦντο.*

31 *Μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὔγουστος, καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἂν διὰ ταχέων αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ἵν' ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου προφάσει ᾖ, πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικὸν καίτοι ταμιεύοντα, στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὅσους παρά τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δούλους, πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα αὐτῶν, σὺν τροφῇ*
2 *ἑκμήνῳ λαβὼν ἠλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γιγνο-*

[1] Σισκίᾳ Xyl., σεισκίαι M.
[2] Λικινίου Bk., λικιννίου M.

ravaging it, and Tiberius and Messallinus were tarrying in Siscia, the Dalmatians overran the territory of their allies and caused many more to revolt. And although Tiberius approached them, they would engage in no pitched battle with him, but kept moving from one place to another, causing great devastation; for, owing to their knowledge of the country and the lightness of their equipment, they could easily proceed wherever they pleased. And when winter set in they did much greater damage, for they even invaded Macedonia again. As for these forces, now, Rhoemetalces and his brother Rhascyporis checked them by a battle; and as for the others, they did not come to the defence of their country when it was later ravaged (in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus), but took refuge in the mountain fortresses, from which they made raiding expeditions whenever the chance offered. A.D. 6 A.D. 7

When Augustus learned of these things, he began to be suspicious of Tiberius, who, as he thought, might speedily have overcome the Dalmatians, but was delaying purposely, in order that he might be under arms as long as possible, with the war as his excuse. He therefore sent out Germanicus, although he was only a quaestor, and gave him an army composed not only of free-born citizens but also of freedmen, including those whom he had freed from slavery by taking them from their masters and mistresses on payment of their value and the cost of their maintenance for six months. This was not the only measure he took to meet the need occasioned by the war, but he also postponed the review of the knights, which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he

μένην ἀνεβάλετο. κατά τε τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς μεγάλης ηὔξατο,[1] ὅτι γυνή τις ἐς τὸν βραχίονα 3 γράμματα ἄττα ἐντεμοῦσα ἐθείασέ τινα. ᾔσθετο μὲν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ κατέσχητο ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς αὐτὸ ἐπεποιήκει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἄλλως τε καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τόν τε λιμόν, ὃς καὶ τότε αὖθις συνέβη, δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, πιστεύειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα παραμυθήσεσθαι τὸν ὅμιλον ἤμελ-4 λεν ὡς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἔπραττε. καὶ ἐπί γε τῇ σιτοδείᾳ δύο αὖθις ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπιμελητὰς τοῦ σίτου σὺν ῥαβδούχοις ἀπέδειξε. προσδεόμενος δὲ δὴ χρημάτων ἔς τε τοὺς πολέμους καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων τροφήν, τό τε τέλος τὸ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πράσει ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς τὰς ὁπλομαχίας ποιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδόμενον ἐκέλευσε μηκέτ' ἀναλίσκεσθαι.

32 Τὸν δὲ δὴ Γερμανικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὅτι δουλοπρεπής τε ἐκεῖνος ἦν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡλιεύετο, ὅθενπερ καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμαζε, τῇ τε ὀργῇ προ-2 πετεῖ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τὴν Λιουίαν[2] ὡς μητρυιὰν διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρῴων ἐπεκάλει. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσωφρονίζετο, ἀπεκηρύχθη, καὶ ἥ τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ταμιείῳ[3] ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Πλανασίαν τὴν πρὸς Κύρνῳ νῆσον ἐνεβλήθη.

[1] ηὔξατο R. Steph., εὔξατο M.
[2] Λιουίαν Lipsius, Ἰουλίαν M.
[3] ταμιείῳ Bk., ταμείωι M.

made a vow with reference to the Megalensian games because some woman had cut some letters on her arm and practised some sort of divination. He knew well, to be sure, that she had not been possessed by any divine power, but had done this thing deliberately; but inasmuch as the populace was terribly wrought up over both the wars and the famine (which had now set in once more), he, too, affected to believe the common report and proceeded to do anything that would make the crowd cheerful, regarding such measures as necessary. And in view of the dearth of grain he appointed two ex-consuls commissioners of the grain supply, granting them lictors. And as there was need of more money for the wars and for the support of the night-watchmen, he introduced the tax of two per cent. on the sale of slaves, and he ordered that the money which was regularly paid from the public treasury to the praetors who gave gladiatorial combats should no longer be expended. A.D. 7

The reason why he sent Germanicus and not Agrippa to take the field was that the latter possessed an illiberal nature, and spent most of his time in fishing, by virtue of which he used to call himself Neptune. He used to give way to violent anger, and spoke ill of Livia as a stepmother, while he often reproached Augustus himself for not giving him the inheritance his father had left him. When he could not be made to moderate his conduct, he was banished and his property was given to the military treasury; he himself was put ashore on Planasia, the island near Corsica.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ στρατευμάτων πολλαχόθεν ἐκεῖσε συνιόντων, τηρήσαντες οἱ Βάτωνες τὸν Σεουῆρον ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας προσιόντα ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι, στρατοπεδευομένῳ πρὸς τοῖς Οὐολκαίοις ἕλεσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ ταφρεύματος ἐφόβησαν καὶ κατήραξαν ἐς αὐτό, δεξαμένων δέ σφας τῶν ἔνδον 4 ἡττήθησαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νεμηθέντες, ὅπως πολλαχῇ ἅμα τῆς χώρας κατατρέχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου τότε γε ἔδρασαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικὸς Μαζαίους Δελματικὸν ἔθνος μάχῃ νικήσας ἐκάκωσεν.

33 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Φουρίου μετὰ Σέξτου Νωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δελμάται καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι συμβῆναι διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λιμῷ, εἶτα καὶ νόσῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πόαις τέ τισιν ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ῥίζαις χρώμενοι, πονηθῆναι, οὐκ ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο δὲ κωλυσάντων τῶν μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐχόντων, 2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἀντεῖχον. καὶ Σκενόβαρδός τέ τις προσποιησάμενος μεταστήσεσθαι, καὶ πέμψας κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρὸς Μάνιον Ἔννιον φρούραρχον Σισκίας[1] ὡς ἕτοιμος μὲν ὢν αὐτομολῆσαι, δεδιὼς δὲ μὴ προπάθῃ[2]. . . .

3 Padus, quem Italiae soli fluviorum regem dicunt cognomento Eridanus, ab Augusto imperatore latis-

[1] Σισκίας Bk., σείσκιας M.

[2] Between προπάθῃ and μέντοι (chap. 34) four folios are lacking in M.

BOOK LV

These were the events in the city. After Germanicus reached Pannonia and armies were assembling there from many sides, the two Batos waited until Severus approached from Moesia and then fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcaean marshes. They frightened the pickets outside the ramparts and drove them back inside, but when the men in the camp stood their ground, the attackers were defeated. After this the Romans were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once; most of these detachments did nothing worthy of note, at least not at that time, but Germanicus conquered in battle and harassed the Mazaei, a Dalmatian tribe. A.D. 7

These were the achievements of that year. In the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, the Dalmatians and Pannonians desired to make terms, because they were afflicted first by famine and then by disease that followed it, since they were using for food roots and strange herbs. They did not, however, make any overtures, being hindered by those who had no hope of being spared by the Romans, but even in their distress still resisted. And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand . . . . A.D. 8

The Po, which, under the name Eridanus,[1] they call the king of the rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, had its waters let into a very wide canal by the

[1] This is the usual name of the river in Greek.

sima fossa demissus, qui septima sui alvei parte per mediam influit civitatem, ad ostia sua amoenissimum portum praebens, classem ducentarum quinquaginta navium, Dione referente, tutissima dudum credebatur recipere statione.—Jordanes, *Get.* 29, 150.

4 *Λωφήσαντος δέ ποτε τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐπί τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὀνόματι, ὃς ἦν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἱπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε ῥινοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἱππεὺς πλούτῳ ποτὲ προενεγκὼν ἐμονομάχησε.*

5 Καὶ *ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἔκαμνεν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκόπει*[1] *καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος, τὰς δὲ δὴ*[2] *πρεσβείας τάς τε παρὰ τῶν δήμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἕκαστον καὶ διακούειν τινῶν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.*—Xiph. 114, 15–30.

34 . . . *μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀπεφαίνετο, ὅπως ἰδιοβουλεῖν ἅπασιν ἐξείη καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης, ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονῆσαί οἱ ἔχων, ἐξίσταιτο,*[3]

[1] διεσκόπει V, διεσκ . . . C, διεσκέψατο L'.
[2] δὴ V, μὴ C, om. L'.
[3] ἐξίσταιτο Bk., ἐξίσταται M.

Emperor Augustus. A seventh part of the stream of this river flows through the centre of the city,[1] affording at its mouth a most attractive harbour, which was formerly believed, according to Dio, to be a thoroughly safe anchorage for a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. A.D. 8

When at last the famine had abated, he conducted games in the Circus in the name of Germanicus, who was son of Drusus, and in that of Germanicus' brother.[2] On this occasion an elephant overcame a rhinoceros and a knight who had once been distinguished for his wealth fought in single combat.

Now when Augustus was growing weary by reason of old age and the feebleness of his body, so that he could not attend to the business of all those who needed his care, though he continued personally, with his assistants, to investigate judicial cases and to pass judgment, seated on the tribunal in the palace, he entrusted to three ex-consuls the embassies sent to Rome by peoples and kings; these, sitting separately, gave audience to such embassies and made answer to them, except in matters in which the final decision had of necessity to be rendered by the senate and Augustus.

[It had been Augustus' practice hitherto to attend all the meetings of the senate, though he did not,] however, declare his opinion among the first, but among the last, his purpose being that all might be permitted to form their views independently and no one should abandon his own judgment, as though he were under any necessity of agreeing with the emperor; and he would often sit with the magis-

[1] Ravenna.

[2] Claudius, who later became emperor.

τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι πολλάκις συνεδίκαζε· καὶ ὁσάκις γε οἱ παρεδρεύοντές σφισιν ἐδιχογνωμόνουν,[1] καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου ψῆφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων 2 ἠριθμεῖτο. τότε δὲ τῇ μὲν γερουσίᾳ καὶ ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ δικάζειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν δῆμον οὐκέτι παρῄει, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν προτέρῳ ἔτει πάντας τοὺς ἄρξοντας αὐτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐστασιάζετο, ἀπέδειξε, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα γράμματά τινα ἐκτιθεὶς συνίστη τῷ τε πλήθει 3 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὅσους ἐσπούδαζε. πρὸς μέντοι τὰς τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωτο ὥσθ', ἵν' ἐγγύθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δελμάταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Παννονίοις πᾶν ὅ τι χρὴ συμβουλεύειν ἔχῃ, πρὸς Ἀρίμινον ἐξώρμησε. καὶ ἐπί τε τῇ ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ εὐχαὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπανόδῳ αἱ θυσίαι ὥσπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τινὸς ἀνακομισθέντος ἐτελέσθησαν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπράχθη, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Βάτων ὁ Βρεῦκος, ὁ τόν τε Πίννην προδοὺς καὶ μισθὸν τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βρεύκων λαβών, ἑάλω τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου Βάτωνος καὶ διεφθάρη· 5 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑποπτεύσας τι ἐς τὸ ὑπήκοον ὁμήρους καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν φρουρίων περιιὼν[2] ᾔτει, μαθὼν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἐνήδρευσέ που αὐτόν, καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσας κατέκλεισεν ἐς τεῖχος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον λαβὼν παρήγαγέ τε ἐς τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀποθανεῖν 6 ἐν χερσὶν ἐποίησε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου συχνοὶ τῶν Παννονίων ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς[3] ὁ

[1] ἐδιχογνωμόνουν Morell, ἐδιχογνώμουν M.
[2] περιιὼν R. Steph , περιὼν M.
[3] αὐτοῖς Rk., αὐτὸς M.

trates as they tried cases. Also, whenever those who sat in judgment with him found themselves in disagreement, the emperor's vote was counted as no more than equal to that of any other judge. But at the time to which I refer, Augustus allowed the senate to try most cases without him, and he gave up attending the popular assemblies. Instead, he had the year before personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks, and in this and the following years he merely posted a bulletin recommending to the plebs and to the people those whom he favoured. Yet he was so vigorous when it came to directing campaigns against the enemy that he proceeded to Ariminum in order that he might be near at hand to give all necessary advice in regard to both the Dalmatians and the Pannonians. On his departure vows were made, and on his return the sacrifices customary when he came back from the enemy's country were offered.

A.D. 8

This was what was done in Rome. Meanwhile, Bato, the Breucian, who had betrayed Pinnes and had received the right to rule over the Breucians as his reward, was captured by the other Bato and put to death. The Breucian, it seems, had been somewhat suspicious of his subject tribes and had gone round to each of the garrisons to demand hostages; and the other, learning of this, lay in wait for him somewhere or other, defeated him in battle, and shut him up in a stronghold. Later, when the Breucian was delivered over by those inside, he took him and brought him before the army, and then, when he had been condemned, put him to death on the spot. After this many of the Pannonians rose in revolt,

Σιλουανὸς ἐπιστρατεύσας τούς τε Βρεύκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ἀμαχεὶ προσεποιήσατο. ἰδὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσόδους φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ἐκείνην
7 ἐπόρθει. καὶ οὕτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ κακουμένης, ὡμολόγησαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ληστικά τινα οἷα ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαύτης ἐπὶ πλεῖον κακουργοῦντα διεγένετο, ὅπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα συμβαίνει.

and Silvanus made a campaign against them, conquered the Breucians, and won over some of the others without a battle. Bato, on seeing this, gave up all hope of Pannonia, but occupied the passes leading to Dalmatia with garrisons and ravaged that country. Then at last the remainder of the Pannonians also came to terms, chiefly for the reason that their country was being harried by Silvanus. However, certain bands of brigands continued their forays for a long time, as was natural after so great a disturbance; indeed, this nearly always happens, not only among other peoples, but especially in the case of these tribes. A.D. 8

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